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THE LIFE OF
JEANNE D'ALBRET,
QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

FROM NUMEROUS UNPUBLISHED SOURCES,
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BY
MARTHA WALKER FREER,

AUTHOR OF
"THE LIFE OF MARGUERITE D'ANGOULEME."

"Pax certa, Victoria integra, Mors honesta."
LÉGENDE DE JEANNE D'ALBRET.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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THE
LIFE OF JEANNE D'ALBRET.

CHAPTER I.

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ABOUT ten days after the despatch of her letter to the cardinal d'Armagnac, Jeanne convoked a synod of ministers to meet in the great hall of her castle at Pau. The queen formally laid before the assembly the letters, and mandates of the papal legate, with her replies thereto ; all which documents she caused to be publicly read. The clergy, and the people applauded the brave heart and resolute daring of their queen ; and they promised her every moral aid and pecuniary support in their power to bestow. The inhabitants of Foix and Lower Navarre alone looked on in sullen displeasure. It is impossible to view without admiration the dauntless courage, and the powers of tenacious resistance displayed at this juncture by the queen of Navarre. Though her peril was imminent ; her counsellors few and incompetent ; and the whole burden of responsibility for the measures adopted, rested upon herself, the queen appears never to have shrunk before her enemies ; or to have suffered the slightest sinking of heart to impair the vigour of her opposition. Had

queen Jeanne swayed the sceptre of France, or of Spain, the world must have resounded with her exploits: so that, if Marguerite d'Angoulême conquered all hearts by her beauty and learning, the talents, and the heroic spirit displayed by her daughter, commanded universal homage and respect.

The aspect of the court of Rome, meantime, became more mysterious and threatening. The cardinal d'Armagnac quitted his archiepiscopal residence at Toulouse, and proceeded to Rome: the cardinal of Ferrara, likewise, received a summons to repair thither without delay; moreover, the nuncio Ste. Croix suddenly departed from the French court, stating to all inquirers that he was about to proceed into Flanders, to confer with madame Marguerite, duchess of Parma; whereas, it subsequently transpired, to the indignation of the skilful and scheming Chantonnay, that the cardinal had taken the road direct for Italy.¹

Meanwhile, the treaty of peace negotiated between Condé and queen Catherine, after the death of the duke de Guise, gave contentment to no party. The court, grudgingly fulfilling the conditions of accommodation, issued an *ordonnance* in favour of the Huguenots—a modification of the celebrated edict of January—which the parliament of Paris angrily accepted, and registered under protest. The provinces of France continued agitated, and a prey to the lawless ravages of the soldiery of both parties; the people taking part, with factious violence, in the

¹ Lettre de Chantonnay, au roi Catholique.

broils of their local parliaments, which in many places refused to register the edict of pacification, or to annul, in accordance with the clauses of that document, the censures and penalties adjudged against heresy. The court was a focus in which this animosity met, and expended itself. To render the prince de Condé more subservient, Catherine spread the same toils by the which she had before entrapped the king of Navarre; and Mademoiselle de Limeuil,¹ another beautiful attendant upon the queen, showed herself not less compliant to the commands of her royal mistress than *la belle de Rouet* had been before her. Condé, like his brother Antoine, forgot, amid pleasure and dissipation, to exact from Catherine the fulfilment of various stipulations which the queen found it advantageous to evade; and amongst other things, that he should be appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The great ladies of the court followed the example of disunion set them by their lords. The Huguenot ladies, under the guidance of the princess de Condé, the duchesse de Ferrara, and the duchesse d'Uzès, waged open warfare against the Roman Catholic dames of the court, who chose the widowed duchesse de Guise for their leader.

The presence-chamber of the queen was often the

¹ Isabelle de la Tour, daughter of Gilles de la Tour Turenne, seigneur de Limeuil, and of Marguerite de la Cropte, dame de Lanquais. Mademoiselle de Limeuil finally espoused Scipion Sardini, viscount de Buzancy, baron de Chaumont, an Italian protégé of queen Catherine de Medici.

arena of unseemly disputes. One day, soon after the termination of hostilities, the princess de Condé introduced her mother, madame de Roye, a lady of stately presence, and rigid morals, to kiss the queen's hand. Madame de Roye had never condescended to visit the court since her brief imprisonment at St. Germain, during the reign of Francis II., for her supposed connivance in the conspiracy of Amboise. Catherine gave her a gracious welcome, and all went well so far, when the princess de Condé, taking her mother's hand, led her to a seat next to herself, and, consequently, as the princess held royal rank, above madame de Guise, and all the other ladies present. There was a brief, and ominous silence throughout Catherine's presence-chamber: at length, the duchesse de Guise rose, and making a profound obeisance to the queen, swept majestically from the apartment, followed by all the Roman Catholic ladies present, excepting the queen's personal attendants. Queen Catherine, after a pause, then retired to her cabinet, manifesting much displeasure at the proceeding of the princess; thus leaving the Huguenot ladies in possession of the field.¹

The queen used to threaten the leaders of these unmannerly disputes with banishment from her presence; and she often talked in a very indignant strain on this, and on several other matters to Condé, telling him that she would have no coadjutor in the council; but that he, and all the king's subjects,

¹ Chantonay, au roi Catholique—de Paris, ce 27 de Juin, 1563.

must demean themselves humbly and loyally when at court. "This would have been a very fine declaration on the part of her majesty," says the adroit Chantonnay, who recounts, with sarcastic humour, the doings of the court, "provided that she had maintained the same language on all matters. Instead of ~~which, they do little else~~ here again at court, than preach sermons and sing psalms; and daily prayers are said in the saloon of the prince de Condé, with the help of all who have the will and the ability to go there; so that the Christian king is less respected and obeyed in his own household, than the lowest judge of the realm within his district."¹

Upon this mass of social and religious disorganization, pope Pius IV. hurled the anathemas of the church. The war with the sword having only recently ceased, the pope commenced a crusade with the pen. After the conclusion of the conferences at Poissy, the name of seven eminent prelates of the Gallican church had been inscribed with that of the queen of Navarre, on the rolls of the Holy Office, preparatory to their citation before the tribunal on a charge of heresy. The Consistory had, afterwards, feigned to be content with the explanation given by cardinal Muret, respecting the designs and opinions of Jeanne d'Albret. The embassy she had sent to Rome had likewise softened the indignation of the supreme pontiff. As for the accused prelates, the civil war which menaced France rendered it probable that

¹ Chantonnay, au roi Catholique, p. 159. Mém. de Condé.

heresy might be extirpated without having recourse to extreme ecclesiastical procedures. The citations, therefore, against the bishops, had not been issued, partly owing to the above considerations, and partly out of deference to the remonstrances of the Guillart du Mortier, the resident French envoy at the papal court.

The contumacy recently displayed by the queen of Navarre, and especially the letter which she had addressed to the legate, so exasperated the pope as to induce him to deviate from the wise and cautious policy he had hitherto pursued. Jeanne's defiance was rendered more unpalatable by the treaty of Orleans, recently signed between the regent and Condé. Pius perceived that defection from the faith of Rome was everywhere tolerated; and in defence of the papacy, he resolved to put forth those spiritual weapons which his predecessors had so unscrupulously wielded.

The cardinal de la Bourdaisière, in his despatches, constantly gives the queen-regent intimation that some secret affair of magnitude occupied the attention of the members of the Holy Office in Rome, after the arrival thither of the cardinals d'Armagnac, de Ferrara, and de Ste. Croix. He, at length, writes to inform the bishop of Rennes,¹ that the former decrees issued against the bishops were to be executed; and

¹ Bernardin Bochetel bishop of Rennes, and French ambassador at Vienna.

that it was rumoured the queen of Navarre was likewise cited. "Monsieur," wrote the cardinal, "although I have no letter from you, I will not delay in sending you tidings that the case of the prelates¹ of our realm accused of heresy, was decided yesterday in consistory: when, in default of their appearance, judgment was pronounced against them all, *prout in cedula*, as the term mentioned in their citation was holden to have expired. I know not whether this sentence is to be regarded as final, or interlocutory; but this matter rests with M.M. de l'Inquisition. I made all the remonstrances I could in their favour, which was the reason matters did not take the evil turn that many apprehended. The pope demeaned himself very graciously. It is universally reported in Rome that the queen of Navarre is excommunicated by the consistory; this, however, is not precisely true; although she is cited to appear. I know nothing more of the affair, not having the honour of being a member of the Holy Office of the Inquisition; for, although the pope

¹ The bishops were, Jean de St. Gelais, bishop d'Uzès, Claude Regin, bishop of Oléron, Jean de St. Chamond, archbishop of Aix, Jean d'Albret, bishop of Lescar, François de Noailles, bishop d'Acqs, Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence, Charles Guillart, bishop of Chartres, Jean Caraccioli, bishop of Troyes, Jean de Barbançon, bishop of Pamiers, and the cardinal de Châtillon, whose ecclesiastical title is totally ignored, he being simply named count de Beauvais. The pope had reason for alarm, it must be owned, when all these prelates, who filled the most illustrious sees of France, were attainted, and denounced as heretics.

offered, and commanded me to accept the said post, I have invariably declined."¹

About the middle of the month of October, 1563, the pope published his celebrated Monitory against Jeanne d'Albret. It was affixed during the night to the doors of St. Peter's, and on the palace of the Vatican, and posted in all public places in Rome. In this document, the queen is cited to appear within the space of six months before the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, there to give account of her proceedings, and to clear herself from the stain of heresy. If the queen contumaciously disregarded the citation, and failed to present herself within the given period, she was declared convicted of heresy, excommunicate and accursed, "her kingdoms, principalities, sovereignties, lordships, and domains, being given to the first despoiler; or to those on whom his holiness, or his successors, may please to bestow them." This Bull² was confirmed and sealed on the 28th day of September, 1563: at the same time sentences of excommunication were launched against Elizabeth, queen of England, the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave

¹ Le Laboureur—Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau, t. i. p. 863.

²The words of the bull are, "Ita quod in casu contraventionis, quod Deus avertat, et contumaciæ, Regnum, Principatus, ac alia cujuscunque Status et dominia hujuscemodi, dentur et dari possint cuilibet illa occupanti, vel illi aut illis quibus Sanctitati suæ, et successoribus suis dare et concedere magis placuerit." Monitorium et Citatio Officii Sanctæ Inquisitionis, contra illustrissimam et serenissimam Dominam Joannam Albretiam, Reginam Navarræ.

of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Wirtemberg, Condé, Coligny, and all the leaders of the Huguenot faction in France. At the court of France, alone, this wholesale anathema made impression; in Béarn, not a single copy of the bull entered the principality. Calm and resolved, Jeanne, aware of the peril which menaced her dominions from the ambition of Philip of Spain, appealed to the queen-regent for support and protection, and declined to take any direct measures to propitiate the papal court. She represented to Catherine that she was vitally interested in not suffering the Spanish king to possess himself of Béarn; and that the Pyreneean chain was the natural boundary line between France and Spain, the which could not be violated with impunity to the monarchy. She commented on the flagrant disregard manifested by the pope for the articles of the Concordat of Francis I., in his presumptuous citation of seven prelates of France, and a princess of the blood royal before the Tribunal of the Inquisition, without the assent of the king. Finally, she asked the aid of France to defend her dominions against the violence of the Roman pontiff, and the king of Spain, if only on the ground, that her ancestors lost the fairest portion of their heritage for their faithful adherence to Louis XII., in his contest with pope Julius II.”¹

The dignified deportment of the queen of Navarre

¹ Olhagaray, *Hist de Foix, Béarn et Navarre*. La Popelinière. *Hist. de France*, t. i. liv. 10.

rendered her essential service at this crisis ; it reassured her subjects, and it roused their enthusiasm in her cause. The extreme proceedings of the pope found few supporters, even amongst the most devoted champions of the papacy. The age was past, it was universally felt, when such demonstrations of ecclesiastical authority might be attended with beneficial results to religion ; for delinquents were now so numerous, that they afforded each other both courage and mutual countenance, in their contumacious courses. The prelates assembled in council at Trent, unanimously indicated their disapproval of the pope's precipitate measure. The aim of their deliberations professed to conciliate all, and to restore religious concord throughout the civilized world ; most imprudent did it, therefore, appear to the prelates, that the pope, before the termination of the conferences should have thought proper to launch sentences of excommunication against the most puissant rulers of Europe ; and to alienate the friendship of France, by his ill-timed censures on seven bishops of the Gallican church, and against a sovereign princess, the vassal and ally of the French crown.

The cardinal de la Bourdaisière received instructions, from Charles IX., to remonstrate with Pius, and to use every persuasion to induce him to annul his decrees ; but the consistory advised the pope to persist in enforcing the sentences. The condition of religion in France might well inspire the minds of Pius and his councillors with misgiving ; the ex-

traordinary and unusual proceedings of the chief prelates, who still professed reverential obedience for the Holy See, demonstrated how much the papal prerogative, and ecclesiastical discipline, had lost their *prestige*. The cardinal de Bourbon had twice applied to the Holy See, to be so far released from his priestly vow, that he might marry; and he requested that the dispensation should state that no discredit thereby attached to his ecclesiastical rank. The cardinal de Châtillon, bishop of Beauvais, had openly espoused a wife, to whom he gave the appellation of madame de Beauvais:¹ the cardinal de Lorraine led a life of open licence, to the great scandal of both his friends, and his foes. The voluptuous life of the bishop of Auxerre had almost passed into a proverb throughout France; like the cardinal de Lorraine, there seemed no indulgence, lawful or prohibited, which that luxurious prelate did not revel in; setting at defiance the obligations of the priesthood, and of public morality.

The conduct of the pope, meantime, greatly incensed Catherine; and she wrote to assure the queen of Navarre, that the king heartily responded to her appeal: and that his majesty would undertake her defence, against the oppressions of Rome. In this unexpected step, on the part of the supreme pontiff,

¹ The cardinal's assumed consort was Isabelle de Hauteville, dame de Loré. She took up her abode in the episcopal palace of Beauvais about the year 1561. Chantonay, in his despatches, sarcastically gives her the title of Madame la Cardinale.

Catherine descried the revival of the intolerant pretensions of the popedom, as once exercised by Gregory VII; and no tenet or prerogative of the papacy met with more utter rejection by the monarchs of the sixteenth century, than the assertion, that princes might be lawfully deposed by the fiat of the successor of St. Peter. It was, therefore, in behalf of her son's throne, that Catherine undertook Jeanne's defence; especially as the queen, by no means, felt herself bound in conscience to resist, out of zeal for the papacy, any future modifications of the Roman Catholic ritual, which might content the king's enterprising subjects of the reformed faith. She, accordingly, despatched the sieur d'Oysel, on a special embassy to Rome, in order to represent, to the pope, that the citation of the French bishops, before the tribunal of the Inquisition, could not be tolerated by the privy-council, it being opposed to the liberties and privileges of the Gallican church; "but should his holiness still persist in the measure," wrote Catherine, to her ambassador at Vienna, when giving him a summary of d'Oysel's instructions to lay before the emperor Maximilian, "you know, monsieur de Rennes, the remedies and resources which we possess. As for the queen of Navarre, her case is one of paramount import," continues the royal diplomatist; "we have, therefore, given the said sieur d'Oysel charge to make his holiness comprehend that we do not acknowledge his authority and jurisdiction over those who bear the title of king or

queen ; and that it is not for him to give their kingdoms and territories to any conqueror whatsoever ; and not even as respects the queen of Navarre, who holds the greater part of her dominions under the king, my lord and son.”¹

D'Oysel, moreover, was commissioned to present to the consistory a statement of the various motives and causes, by which king Charles was induced to espouse the protection of his vassal and relative, the queen of Navarre, against the usurpation of the Holy See : and the document terminated with the very threatening intimation that, unless the pope recalled his decree of citation and excommunication, against the queen of Navarre, “ the king, to his very great and infinite regret, would find himself compelled to employ the remedy resorted to by his ancestors, on such occasions—his majesty being under the necessity thus to act, upon so just a demand as that made to him by the said queen of Navarre, which admonished him to spare neither the strength nor the power that God has given him, in aid of right : all which, the king, upon occasion, is minded to do and perform.”² Catherine's envoy performed his office with admirable spirit and effect : the pope made not much demur about reversing the citation issued against the prelates, provided that they were

¹ Lettre de Catherine de Medici, à l'évêque de Rennes. Additions aux Mém. de Castelnau, Le Laboureur, t. i. p. 783.

² Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre. Mém. de Condé, t. iv. De Thou, Hist. de son Temps.

arraigned before their own national tribunals, and deposed from their sees. Pius, nevertheless, obstinately persisted in his censures on Jeanne d'Albret. Catherine found herself under the necessity of sending more peremptory instructions to her envoy; as also to the French resident ambassador in Rome. After much angry discussion, the pope remained firm in his refusal to annul the sentence of excommunication, by a second formal decree. He agreed, however, that it should be virtually considered of non-effect, as regarded its temporal pains and penalties; and he, furthermore consented that the document should be expunged from the ecclesiastical ordinances of his pontificate.¹ This concession was celebrated by public rejoicings throughout Jeanne's principality; and the people, in their enthusiasm at the effectual manner in which the king had defended their princess, relaxed in much of their hostility towards Charles, which had been provoked by the cruel deeds of Montluc in the south. It was always a subject of honest gratulation to the Béarnois, that neither priest nor layman had presumed to publish the pope's monitory; for not a copy of it even reached Pau.

Jeanne's persecutions were, nevertheless, not terminated for this most luckless year, in the course of which she had found herself in danger of imprisonment, and even of the knife of the secret assassin. As a mother, she had been bereft of her son; as a sovereign, she had lain under excommunication, and

¹ De Thou, *Hist. de son Temps*. liv. 35, p. 583.

her territory subjected to interdict. The unappeasable animosity of Pius IV., and of Philip of Spain never relaxed: scarcely, therefore, had the affair of the Monitory been decided, than some prelate of the consistorial council — probably the cardinal d'Armagnac — proposed that queen Jeanne's marriage with Antoine de Bourbon should be pronounced null and void, and her children declared illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the heritage of Albret, on account of her previous contract with the duke of Cleves.¹ This infamous design, so evidently vindictive in its object, actually met with support in the papal council, and was there discussed in the presence of the pope. "Mi señor," wrote the indefatigable envoy, Jansana, who yet lingered at Pau, "from letters which have reached me here from the court of France, I have heard how it has been proposed in council, to declare the marriage contracted between madame de Vendôme and Vendôme, null and void; a thing not to be moved without caution, as being displeasing to the said court of France, which is resolved to defend her territories against any who shall attempt to assail her. The individual who writes this to me says, moreover, that it would be well not to undertake the affair rashly, on account of the great leagues and cabals forming everywhere throughout Christendom; for that, while we act on the one side, we lose ground

² Archives de Simancas.—K. 1292. B. 16—65.—Ined. Jansana, a Don Martinez d'Ecurra.

in another." Although no precise record of the deliberation exists, yet the queen's honour, and the legitimacy of her children must have been in imminent peril, from the attitude assumed by the French court. Even those most inimical to the projects of the queen of Navarre, perceived that the assumptions of the papal court must be checked. King Charles, therefore, wrote a letter to the pope, with his own hand, remonstrating against this design, at the request and entreaty, as he stated, of his aunt, the queen of Navarre. The French ambassadors were directed to make a formal protest against the proceeding; after which, if the pope persisted in his project of annulling the marriage which Jeanne had contracted with Antoine de Bourbon, they were ordered to withdraw to Venice, and wait further orders from the court.¹

In both these affairs, Catherine warmly espoused the cause of Jeanne d'Albret; and, doubtless, without the powerful protection of the regent of France, the results must have been disastrous to the queen of Navarre. Catherine, however, acted sagaciously, and, with politic foresight in the energy which she displayed on those occasions; her decision in the matter arose from a careful consideration of her own interests, rather than from affection for the person, or for the prosperity of the queen of Navarre. She was far too able a politician to admit the doctrine of the pope's supreme right to depose princes, upon any

¹ De Thou, liv. 35.

ground whatever. At any juncture, the recognition of such a power was dangerous; still more so, therefore, did it become, when a portion of the subjects of every European realm were demanding, at the sword's point, from their prince, a recognized deviation from the Roman ritual. Catherine herself, at this very period, was prepared, upon the demand of the majority of her son's subjects, to acquiesce in such a project; and, to abide by the appeal which, on the accession of Charles IX, she had made in her famous letter to Pope Pius IV. The queen expressly states her sentiments on the matter in a despatch which she wrote to her ambassador, at the court of Vienna, when directing the bishop to watch and report minutely the result of a similar application which the emperor Maximilian II. had just made to the Holy See, that the cup, at the holy communion, might be administered to both clergy and laity irrespectively. The queen says, "we are anxious to learn what the pope replies to the demand, made in the despatch just sent to him by the emperor, to permit the marriage of priests, and the administration of the holy communion, *sub utráque*. If we find that the emperor, our good brother, obtains his desire, and we think it would profit us here in our realm, we will take into consideration how we shall demean ourselves in the matter."¹ Professing opinions so liberal and

¹ Lettre de Catherine de Medici à Bernardin Bochetel, évêque de Rennes. Le Laboureur, Additions au Mém. de Michel de Castelnau, t. I.

accommodating, Catherine's policy might well reject the precedent which was sought to be established by the arbitrary deposition of Jeanne d'Albret. The scheme set afloat by the king of Spain, to declare that the marriage of the queen of Navarre had been void, was, moreover, injurious to the interests of the crown of France. If king Antoine's son were pronounced illegitimate, the cardinal de Bourbon became first prince of the blood, in collateral descent. A priest, and consequently incapable of bequeathing his rights to legitimate issue, the succession must then devolve on the prince de Condé, and his children. Catherine's political perception was acute enough to discover the immense accession of power, which this hypothetical claim, on the part of Condé, to the crown of France, would infuse into the Huguenot faction, of which the prince was the acknowledged chief. The letter written by king Charles, was drawn in terms emphatic enough to convince Pius, that his sentence, annulling the legality of the union between Jeanne d'Albret and her deceased husband, would never be accepted in France; and, moreover, that it would occasion a breach between the Papal and French cabinets, most hurtful to the interests of the true faith. The matter, therefore, was gradually and skilfully put aside by the assent of the Spanish ambassador; and it ceased to be debated in consistory, under plea that more important affairs demanded the attention of the Sacred College. The design, however was not relinquished; it was appended as an

additional article to another plot of still more monstrous intent, and fatal issue, then negotiating against Jeanne d'Albret, by the courts of Rome and Spain.

The life of the queen of Navarre presents a melancholy tissue of calamity and persecution. Sorrow, opposition, rebellion, and domestic misery darken the page of Jeanne's history. The most peaceful moments of her life were those spent within the gloomy shelter of Plessis-les-Tours; her discontent there, under the rule of her uncle Francis I, had been self-created; no annihilation of the heart's best affections, no domestic ingratitude and treachery, no crushing sense of isolation had then been her portion. Lightly, indeed, ought the reproach to fall upon Jeanne d'Albret, that during her after life, she exchanged the soft and winning pursuits of her sex for the sword of the warrior, and the pen of the statesman; for the wonder is, that under the pressure of misfortune almost unparalleled, she became not the misanthrope, or the tyrant, dealing to others a retribution for her own miserable destiny.

The discussion of the affairs of the Monitory, and the legality of the marriage of the queen of Navarre occupied from the month of September to the middle of December of the year 1563. Scarcely had the excitement abated, when a rebellion broke out in the queen's provinces of Lower Navarre; while simultaneously the parliaments of Bordeaux and Toulouse issued a decree, pronouncing Jeanne's sovereign rights over Béarn to be invalid; and stating

that the principality, like the other domains of the house of Albret, was subject to the controlling power of the king of France, as suzerain-paramount. The decree proceeded to state that the queen of Navarre, therefore, could not establish in Béarn a new religion, or a civil code, without a notorious breach of fealty to her sovereign the king; neither without the assent of the said king was she at liberty to alienate ecclesiastical temporalities, or to confer any benefices whatever.

So notable an impeachment of her sovereign prerogative occasioned great disquietude to the queen; its evil effect on all the disaffected amongst her subjects was likely to be speedily evidenced, when every delinquent convicted under the stringent code of laws, promulgated by Jeanne for the government of her principality, might appeal to the superior tribunal of the king of France. Aware of the absolute necessity of procuring from king Charles the early annulling of the decrees of the officious parliament, and a distinct recognition of her independent sovereignty over Béarn, the queen of Navarre resolved to undertake a journey to the court of France, whither she had been pressingly invited by queen Catherine. Doubtless, also, Jeanne desired to tender her personal thanks to the queen-regent, and to the young king for the countenance which she had received from them during her contest with the Holy See. Having determined upon visiting the court of Catherine, where Condé still maintained a hotly contested pre-eminence, Jeanne's chief difficulty rested in the

nomination of a suitable personage to govern the principality, and its dependencies, during her absence. It was requisite that this personage should possess her own confidence and that of the French court, besides being welcome to her subjects. D'Arros, the gallant governor of Pau, displeased queen Catherine; his loyal devotion to his sovereign was without reproach; and he bore implacable enmity to the marshal de Montluc, who still retained his detested sway over the southern provinces of France. In this emergency, Jeanne had recourse to the count de Grammont, the brother of her early friend Catherine d'Aster. Of his faith to her interests, Jeanne had had many proofs; of his devotion to the reformed tenets, she was equally convinced; and in his favour with her subjects the queen confidently relied. Grammont, however, was sojourning at the French court, being one of the most zealous of the counsellors of Condé. On the completion of the convention of Orleans, a certain number of the Huguenot chiefs had bound themselves to repair to court, and there dutifully serve his youthful majesty of France. As Grammont was one of these noble cavaliers, queen Jeanne applied to the Constable to request him to use his influence with Catherine, to send the count to undertake the government of Béarn during her sojourn in France. "Mon cousin," wrote queen Jeanne to Montmorency,¹ "having ascertained that

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. F. de Béthune, No. 8761.—Inedited. Archives de Simancas, K. 1392. A. B. 16. No. 117.—Ined.

it is his majesty's good pleasure that I should repair to kiss his hand, I have resolved to journey to the court. I have despatched a courier to learn the route which his majesty takes; and the place where he wills that I should join the court. Nevertheless, mon cousin, feeling that interest in the affairs of my principality of Béarn, which I am bound to do, I am anxious to depose the chief authority, during my absence, in the hands of one who will govern prudently. I, therefore, humbly desire that his majesty will command monsieur de Grammont to repair hither; for I should be glad to commit this government to the care of one whom the king approves, to avoid all occasion for that calumnious dealing to which I have been subject. Mon cousin, the thing which I desire most," continues queen Jeanne, with earnestness, "is, that as by my very humble obedience, and faithful service to his majesty, I may set a worthy example to the subjects of this realm, so also my territories may be those in which his royal commands are most observed and honoured. I greatly fear that during my absence this may not be the case, for the reason which you may divine; for that intermeddler,¹ that enemy of concord will never stay his hand until he has disquieted something, on purpose to say, 'it is in the country, subject to the queen of Navarre, that this tumult arises,' a thing he

¹ The marshal de Montluc, who still continued to wage a bloody war in the provinces adjacent to Jeanne's dominions, in order to suppress heresy.

would have before said, if I had not diligently maintained order everywhere. I fear, therefore, that he will find his opportunity during my absence. This is the reason wherefore I desire that the queen should permit monsieur de Grammont, at my request, to hold command, during my absence, over Béarn; he will be well obeyed; because he will be placed there by my authority; being my subject born, and a most worthy gentleman: moreover, if it pleased the queen to command that he shall also govern over my dependencies, which are under the suzerainty of the king, his majesty will there likewise be more implicitly obeyed."

Queen Catherine was pleased to condescend to the desire expressed by Jeanne d'Albret; she, therefore, despatched M. de Grammont to Pau, with all diligent speed. Jeanne immediately issued letters patent, nominating the count, lieutenant-general over Béarn and Navarre, and suspending, during the interval of her absence, the similar functions hitherto exercised by the viscount de Rohan.¹ Queen Jeanne quitted Pau, for her castle of Nérac, about the middle of January, 1564. Her suite was very numerous; though, unfortunately, it was principally composed of personages likely to prove unacceptable to the king, and to his politic mother. The zeal which inspired the queen of Navarre, frequently led

¹ The queen had bestowed upon de Rohan a patent, conferring upon him the dignity of lieutenant-general of Béarn, during the minority of prince Henry.

her to commit great imprudence; and many of Jeanne's misfortunes may be traced to the indiscretion with which she pursued the object upon which her mind was concentrated. The queen travelled, attended by the most learned jurisconsults and lawyers of Foix and Béarn, to demonstrate the legitimacy of her sovereign rights, which had been so rudely assailed by the parliaments of Bordeaux and Toulouse, before the privy council. She was also accompanied by no less than eight Calvinistic ministers, all learned and ready of speech, to the horror and consternation of the Spanish ambassador, Chantonnay. "The duchesse of Ferrara has quitted the court, which is, indeed, a very notable good; for every day prayers and *prêches* were holden in her apartments. Nevertheless, I must tell your majesty that madame de Vendôme is expected, who, unhappily will follow in the same evil courses!" writes Chantonnay, to king Philip, in disconsolate mood. "Though his holiness has summoned madame de Vendôme before his tribunal, the king has resolved to undertake her defence, and to protect her against any adversary, whoever he may be!" were words in his ambassador's despatch, doubtless of unpalatable meaning to the king of Spain.¹

Attended by her train of ladies, ministers, and jurisconsults, queen Jeanne arrived at Vendôme about the first week in March, 1564. While so-

¹ Lettres de Chantonnay au roi Catholique. — Mém. de Condé, t. II.

journing here, Jeanne issued her royal letters, granting and confirming to the sieur d'Ozay, sénéchal de Beaumont, and to Marie de Moulinet, his wife, the right of commonage in her royal forest of Parsaine, an important and lucrative privilege.¹

Catherine and her son, meantime, had quitted Paris for a progress throughout the provinces of France. The *tracasseries* of the court, and the strife on religious matters between the nobles—the feuds of these illustrious personages often leaving his majesty in danger of having no court at all—decided Catherine to undertake the progress. Interviews had been likewise agreed upon between Catherine and her married daughters, the queen of Spain, and the duchess of Lorraine, both of which meetings have acquired fatal notoriety from the political measures supposed to have been then concerted. The duchess Claude had just given birth to a son and heir, to whom the young king was to stand godfather; and, during the time of Charles's visit to Bar-le-Duc, where the baptismal ceremony was performed, the queen of Navarre was sojourning at Vendôme.

From Vendôme, Jeanne proceeded to Paris, where she was enthusiastically welcomed by the Huguenot nobles, most of whom had refused to accompany the king in his progress, as the royal journey had been undertaken without their assent. Condé ac-

¹ Lettres patentes de la royne de Navarre datées de Vendome le deuxième jour de Mars l'an de grace 1564, signées Jehanne; et sur le pli—par la royne duchesse.—MSS. Bibl. Roy.

accompanied the court as far as Vitry, where an express met him, announcing the dangerous illness of the princess his consort, whose recovery was despaired of. The prince, therefore, took leave of Catherine, and repaired to the castle of Condé, in the county of Brie.

During her sojourn in the capital, the queen of Navarre caused her suit, relative to her sovereign rights over Béarn, to be pleaded before the parliament of Paris, and the council of state. Her jurisconsults so ably defended her rights, that the case was decided in her favour by these potent courts ; and the sentence waited only the royal confirmation before the requisite edict was issued, annulling the decrees of the hostile parliaments of the south. This affair having made so satisfactory a progress, the queen applied her energetic mind to procure a similar solution for another cause pending before the high courts of the realm ; one in which she considered the honour of the house of Albret to be singularly compromised.

La petite Françoise, the early friend and playmate of queen Jeanne, had grown up a beautiful and gentle woman, as dependent upon others for kindness and countenance, as her royal cousin had established an opposite character. In due time, Mademoiselle de Rohan was enrolled amongst the maids of honour, in the train of queen Catherine. Whilst one of that brilliant throng, Françoise attracted the homage of the duke de Nemours ; an attachment to which she warmly responded. The duke was considered, by the fair dames of the

queen's suite, to be the most captivating cavalier of the court; he was handsome, brave, and wealthy; his extraction, like that of mademoiselle de Rohan, was royal; and the alliance seemed in every way suitable for both parties to contract. There was, however, one adverse ingredient. The duke professed ardent admiration for the stately duchesse de Guise; and he had actually worn her colours, yellow and black, at the tournament which inaugurated the reign of Henry II. Notwithstanding this preference, which the duke openly avowed, he made suit to Françoise de Rohan; and exchanged rings of betrothment with her, in the presence, as it is asserted, of some third party. Taking advantage of his position, and the power he exercised over the yielding mind of mademoiselle de Rohan, the duke de Nemours basely betrayed the trust reposed in his honour; and the condition of Françoise, about to become a mother, soon attracted the attention of the court. In that age of lax morality, however, mademoiselle de Rohan's fault was deemed a mere unfortunate deviation from the propriety befitting her illustrious rank; the queen considered her as the betrothed consort of the duke de Nemours, and continued to receive her in that character. To do Catherine justice, she was extremely anxious, at this juncture, that the duke should publicly espouse mademoiselle de Rohan; and she frequently urged him to repair the wrong he had inflicted. The viscount de Rohan, Condé, and the queen of Navarre,

joined their indignant expostulations to the queen's remonstrances. The contract drawn on their betrothal existed; and Françoise delivered to the queen the written promise of marriage, on the strength of which, the duke had betrayed her. The duke de Nemours, having due respect for the august parentage of Françoise; and overpowered by the accumulated proofs of his perfidy in the hands of the queen, seemed inclined to give mademoiselle de Rohan a legal title to his name. Whilst the affair remained thus in suspense, the duke de Guise was assassinated by Poltrot; and Anne d'Este, consequently, became free to contract fresh matrimonial engagements. The insipid beauty of Françoise de Rohan, and her childlike gentleness, became odious to the duke, when he contrasted them with the dignified character, and the lofty features of the duchesse de Guise. The birth of a son made no difference in the duke's sentiments; excepting that, after that event, he positively declined to acknowledge the contract which bound him to mademoiselle de Rohan. Unfortunately, as it proved for Françoise, she was a Huguenot, like her brother; her religion, therefore, acted fatally, as well as her connection with the house of Albret, to the success of the suit, which she immediately carried to Rome, to obtain the recognition of her right as the duke's consort, and the mother of his heir. The duke de Nemours opposed the suit, backed by the mighty influence of the house of Guise, all the members of which were anxious to promote the union of the

widowed duchess with a prince of such lofty lineage and wealth. Pius annulled the contract, as illegal and void; and granted a dispensation for the marriage of the duke with Anne d'Este. The affair had been brought before the parliament of Paris, by the viscount de Rohan, and was under consideration when the queen of Navarre arrived in the capital.

During her residence there, Jeanne put forth all her influence, and her eloquence to ward the wrong from her suffering kinswoman; but the cause was still pending before the courts, when the queen quitted Paris. As this suit was brought to an issue, in the year 1565, its termination may as well be recorded here. The duke's marriage with Françoise de Rohan was then summarily pronounced null and void, by a privy council warrant; and their child declared illegitimate. In the following month of May, 1566, the duke de Nemours espoused the duchesse de Guise, at St. Maur, in the presence of the court. The nuptial ceremony was performed by the cardinal de Lorraine. Its progress was interrupted by a gentleman sent by the unfortunate Françoise, and by her brother, to forbid the ceremony. He advanced to the altar, and was commencing the requisite form of protest, when, at a sign from queen Catherine, the captain of her gentleman-at-arms arrested the envoy, and conveyed him to the prison of the town.¹ Mademoiselle de Rohan was, subsequently, created duchesse de Loudonois by king Charles. She retired

¹ Journal de Brulart.

with her son, and sought refuge in the dominions of the queen of Navarre ; and spent the remainder of her life in sorrow and obscurity. Her son bore the title of prince de Genevois, and was, in after life, advanced and patronized by his father. As some excuse for the weakness manifested by Françoise de Rohan, towards the duke de Nemours, Brantôme says of this prince, " Jacques de Savoye was, in his day, the most perfect and accomplished of princes, lords, or gentlemen. The full meaning of this eulogium must be conceded to him ; others, besides myself, can bear witness to this fact. He was a very handsome prince, graceful, brave, valiant, amiable, and affable ; he spoke well and wrote well, in prose and verse ; he attired himself with skill, so that all the nobles of the court fashioned their habits on his model. He was endowed with great wit and wisdom ; his orations were fine ; and his discourse in council eloquent and plausible. He was a perfect horseman ; and very skilful and graceful in running at the ring, and in breaking a lance in tourney. He played admirably at rackets and ball ; vaulting and dancing with wonderful dexterity ; in fact, he was perfect in all chivalrous and manly exercises."¹

From Paris, queen Jeanne proceeded to join the court at Maçon. She made her entry into that town before the arrival of the king from Dijon. The Reformed Faith had made great progress amongst the inhabitants at Maçon ; and one-half of the popula-

¹ Eloge de Jacques de Savoye, duc de Nemours.

tion professed the tenets of Calvin. Jeanne's welcome was enthusiastic ; all the Huguenots of the place went out to meet the queen about a league from Maçon. They afterwards presented to her a humble address, praying her majesty to stand as mediatrix between themselves and king Charles. They further supplicated her to maintain, as she had so nobly done, the cause of religion ; and they offered her majesty bodily service, and pecuniary aid, in any enterprise which she might undertake, in her wisdom, for the benefit and extension of the Reformed Faith. This promise on the part of the Maçonnais was certainly not consistent with the duty and fealty which they owed to king Charles. The queen of Navarre, nevertheless, replied, " that she would take care so to demonstrate her zeal in religious matters, that the inhabitants of Maçon should acknowledge that they had a good and firm protectress." She further added, " that during her residence in Maçon, they might attend *la prédiche* in her house, as she had with her eight sound and efficient ministers."¹

The Protestants at Maçon were constructing a new church on the city ramparts ; and queen Jeanne gained great applause by paying a daily visit to the building. So eager were the Maçonnais to prove themselves worthy of her notice, that the works proceeded with extraordinary alacrity ; the younger male and female members of the congregation joining

¹ Lettre d'Antoine Scarron, secrétaire d'ambassade d'Espagne, au roi Catholique.—Mém. de Condé, t. II.

in the labour, in her majesty's presence, and greatly assisting the workmen employed. The queen caused a service to be celebrated in the half finished edifice by one of her "right reverend chaplains."

This ovation to the queen of Navarre, and her countenance of so fervid a demonstration in a town about to be honoured by the presence of the sovereign, the princes of the blood, and many Roman Catholic prelates, greatly incensed Catherine; and certainly, on this occasion, queen Jeanne cannot be said to have acted with her usual prudent caution. The day following, therefore, after the entry of the court into Maçon, Jeanne received a sharp reprimand from Catherine for her conduct; and also, for having permitted her ministers to preach in public. The message was conveyed to the queen with formal ceremony; its purport was "that the king being informed that the queen of Navarre permitted her ministers to preach, in defiance of the articles of pacification, his majesty had sent very expressly to forbid her to do so more; moreover, that if any of her ministers presumed to preach at all while with the court, the king would inflict so sharp a chastisement upon them, that others should thereby take wholesome warning."¹

Jeanne was very indignant at this menacing message; she, however, dissembled her anger, and applied for a licence to celebrate divine service

¹ Lettre d'Antoine Scarron, au roy Catholique, datée de Lyons ce 16ème de Juin, 1564.

privately in her apartments. This request was peremptorily rejected, without a word to soften its refusal.

These misunderstandings, cast a gloom over the reception of Jeanne d'Albret at court; nor did they augur well for the accomplishment of the purpose for which she had undertaken the journey from Pau. Queen Catherine gave her a cold welcome, when Jeanne visited the king; and altogether affairs seemed so adverse, that had it not been for the intense joy which she felt at embracing her son, Jeanne would have retreated hastily to Orleans. The prince had improved in courtly grace, though not in learned proficiency. Catherine discouraged knowledge in a prince. The young Henry moreover, was, compelled to attend mass daily with his companions, the king's brothers. The queen of Navarre deplored this decision; but Catherine insisted upon being obeyed, and positively refused to allow the prince to return with his mother. Jeanne's spirits became greatly depressed as she marked the development of the training which her son had received since he was taken from her guidance. Already in the humour of the child of ten years old, the observant eye of the queen detected that inclination to gallant frolic, and to games of chance, which became afterwards the besetting sins of the great Henri. Catherine ridiculed Jeanne's prudish fears, when the latter remonstrated on the scenes of levity which the prince daily witnessed in the queen's ante-chamber; or when the

queen of Navarre deprecated the profane oaths and jests, and the indecent songs, habitually on the lips of the king and his brothers, the dukes d'Anjou and d'Alençon. Prince Henry, nevertheless, assured his royal mother that he well remembered her teaching; and that when opportunity occurred, she should have full proof of it—a declaration which Henry, boy as he was, vindicated ere many months elapsed.

Another dispute on religious matters again brought Catherine and Jeanne into angry collision during their sojourn at Maçon. On Thursday, in the Octave of Corpus Domini, the court traversed the city in solemn procession, to hear mass chanted in the cathedral dedicated to St. Vincent. The procession was one of extraordinary pomp and solemnity; it was, in fact, a kind of expiatory offering to Heaven for the prevalence of heresy amongst the inhabitants. The day previous to this event, the king issued an edict, commanding all the Huguenot inhabitants to walk in procession, each man and woman bearing a lighted torch: it was also ordained that the houses of those inhabitants in the line of procession, irrespective of religious distinction, should be adorned with arras, or with verdant branches. This *ordonnance* excited violent clamour; and at the request of the Protestant congregations, the queen of Navarre undertook to remonstrate with the king, and to represent to her majesty that if preaching in towns, or localities other than those conceded by the edict of Orleans, was illegal, it was no less so to require the king's

subjects to do violence to their consciences by taking part in a procession of the Romish church. Jeanne's representations were of no avail: obedience to the *ordonnance* was strictly enforced; and on the morrow the king departed for Lyons, after having greatly alienated and offended his faithful lieges of Maçon.¹

Jeanne accompanied the court to Lyons; and during the sojourn there of the king, she obtained his recognition of her sovereign rights over Béarn; a piece of fortune she was scarcely prepared to hope for, after the unpleasant discussions at Maçon. News, meantime, reached the court of the decease of the princess de Condé, in child-bed, at the castle of Condé. Queen Jeanne wrote a letter of condolence to madame de la Rochefoucauld, sister of the deceased princess. The letter contains merely the expression of the queen's grief at the loss of the princess, "knowing, ma cousine, the great distress that you feel at the loss of our sister, in which I heartily participate." She desires her most affectionate commendation to Condé's motherless children, and promises to stand to them in future in lieu of the mother they had lost.²

The queen, after the despatch of this epistle, having obtained the boon that she came to solicit, took leave of the court, and proceeded to Vendôme,

¹ Lettre de Scarron, au roi Catholique.—Mém. de Condé, t. II. p. 202.

² Lettre de Jeanne d'Albret à madame la comtesse de la Rochefoucauld.—MS. Bibl. Roy. F. de Béth. No. 8697. p. 17.—Inedited. The princess de Condé died July 23rd, 1564.

to hold an assembly of the states of that duchy. Jeanne knew that the ministers in her train were a source of perpetual heart-burning and discord amongst the Roman Catholic courtiers of the king; while the peremptory manner in which Charles had forbidden her to profit by their ministrations, even in private, became necessarily a source of embarrassment to herself in her dealings with the court. The queen apprehended, moreover, that any injudicious display of zeal on the part of these champions of reform, whom she had so imprudently conducted into the vortex of controversy, would be punished by a decree of council, revoking the important concession she had obtained. Jeanne, therefore, took leave of Catherine, and arrived at Vendôme about the end of the month of July, 1564.

By her early departure from Lyons, queen Jeanne unconsciously aided the conspiracy aimed, at this time, against her life and liberty by the courts of Rome and Spain. The hatred which Philip bore the queen of Navarre was peculiar as it was vehement: and he thirsted, with vindictive eagerness, for the destruction of her life, and of her renown. Jeanne had twice refused his overtures of marriage; she resolutely maintained her claim to the crown of Spanish Navarre, usurped by his great-grandfather, Ferdinand the Catholic; and she applied the energy, arising from sincerity of belief and intellectual capacity, for the defence of that faith which was deemed accursed by the gloomy tyrant at Madrid. Philip's

persecution of Elizabeth, queen of England, had its origin in the self-same cause. He had dared to defy even that puissant sovereign ; the weight, therefore, of his hate fell with crushing power upon Jeanne, her little territory, and insufficient resources. At the interview of Peronne, A.D. 1558, it had been accepted as one of the fundamental bases of the confederation there entered into, by the king of Spain, with the house of Guise, that to insure the triumph of the orthodox faith, it would be requisite to exterminate utterly all princes, nobles, and wealthy individuals whatsoever, who professed the tenets of Luther, Calvin, or Zuinglius ; all, who after due invitation refused to make recantation of their heresy. No ties of parentage, or alliance were to be respected ; and no intercession alleviate the fate of those thus doomed. Jeanne d'Albret, therefore, had notoriously subjected herself to the penalties so decreed : the queen, however, was a princess of France ; she had been the consort of the first prince of the blood, lieutenant-general and co-regent of the kingdom ; and she was, moreover, the near relative and the vassal of the king. This lofty position held in check the more overt designs of Philip, and his colleagues, parties to the treaty of Peronne ; they had, nevertheless, raised all manner of political and religious feuds to effect her destruction, but, hitherto, without success. Through the intrigues of the agents of the pope, and of the king of Spain, Jeanne had been menaced with deposition from her royal dignity, by

divorce, imprisonment, assassination, and with excommunication ; finally, it was suspected, and not on idle surmise alone, that her husband had been assassinated in the trenches before Rouen, to render her condition more forlorn, and to degrade her from the rank that the position, which the king of Navarre held in the realm, bestowed upon his consort. It was believed that the condemnation of Jeanne d'Albret by the tribunal of the Inquisition would be deemed so fearful an example of the judicial powers possessed by the Holy See, that heresy thereby must receive its final overthrow in France, Spain, and the Low Countries. It was not, also, without a feeling of triumph that the church proceeded in its attempt to wrest expiation from the daughter of Marguerite d'Angoulême for the mortifications and losses which the sister of Francis I. had inflicted on the orthodox faith and its priesthood, by her obstinate support of heresy.

The juncture of political circumstances, during the autumn of 1564, was deemed favourable for the execution of the contemplated enterprise. The compact of Peronne had been further consolidated, by the assent of Catherine de Medici and of her son, king Charles, to its various clauses ; the leaguer having been gradually revealed, with certain obvious restrictions of detail, to the queen, by the cardinal de Lorraine. Instead of rejecting this compact with horror, and inflicting the penalties of treason upon those traitorous servants who had entered into such a

league with a foreign monarch, unknown to their own sovereign, Catherine accepted the articles. During the royal sojourn at Bar-le-Duc, they were communicated, with the utmost caution and secrecy, to the duke de Lorraine; and when the duke of Ferrara afterwards visited the king at Lyons, they were also confided to him. Catherine, about this time, also, despatched a gentleman of the name of Villemontés to Edinburgh, to invite her daughter-in-law, queen Mary Stuart, to join in the convention of Peronne, negotiated by her maternal kindred;¹ but with what success, still remains a matter of historical controversy. The queen, likewise, made ceaseless efforts, at this period, to bring about an interview between herself, the king of Spain, and the emperor Maximilian II., for the better settlement of the religious and political questions of the day. She argues, in her despatches, that when once they, the three most powerful monarchs in Christendom, 'shall have come to a definite decision, no minor potentate, not even the pope himself, would presume to legislate in civil or religious matters, other than they should decree. Although Catherine's concurrence cannot be denied in the compact of Peronne—a compact accepted, but not originated by herself, and which bore as its fatal fruit the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the disastrous wars of the league—historical justice compels the statement, that at this period, in the important despatches which the queen

¹ Memoirs of Melville, v. i. p. 194.

addressed to her ambassador at Vienna, Catherine, contradictory as it may seem, states it as her opinion that concession ought to be made to the members of the reformed communion. She commands the bishop of Rennes to impart her sentiments to the emperor ; and to urge upon him the expediency of their interview on that ground, when they might, in conjunction with Philip of Spain, compel the pope to receive whatever ecclesiastical compact the good of their respective dominions might seem to require. It was always thus, however, with Catherine de Medici ; incapable of conceiving, or of perfecting a grand design, her energies expended themselves in providing for the transient, though pressing emergencies of the moment. The intricate combination of Catherine's political intrigues, at home and abroad, exhibits an array of present resource so amazing, as may well astonish and sadden the student of this eventful era.

Queen Catherine having adopted the compact of Peronne in its broader details, Philip and his colleagues believed, consequently, that the period had arrived when neither Jeanne's royal blood, nor her parentage to the Valois, would interpose to arrest their long-delayed vengeance. Throughout her queenly career, Catherine de Medici believed herself to be the soul and the originator of every political enterprise of importance that agitated Europe ; when, after all, she was only a tool in the hands of others. Had Catherine united to her powers of dissimulation

a mind of equal strength in integrity and independence of action, she might have given the law to her royal contemporaries ; whereas, always busied in intrigue, overreaching, or being deceived, she became only a dreaded enemy, wondered at for her astuteness, feared for her want of principle, and not unfrequently outwitted by masculine understandings, as designing, but more comprehensive, than her own.

The object of the conspiracy against Jeanne d'Albret, was to seize the queen, with her children, in the royal city of Pau, and to deliver her to the Spanish Inquisition. Incredible as this atrocious project may appear, it is confirmed by the most authentic evidence. The queen was to be incarcerated in the prisons of the Holy Office at Madrid, while her trial for heresy proceeded ; the children were to be confined in one of Philip's fortresses. Lower Navarre was to be invaded and seized by Spanish troops ; and the king of France invited to annex Béarn to his crown. The conspirators were king Philip, the cardinal de Lorraine, pope Pius IV., the marshal de Montluc, d'Aspremont viscount d'Orthez, Descars, formerly chamberlain to king Antoine, and the cardinal d'Armagnac. To this list, the name of Jeanne's brother-in-law, the cardinal de Bourbon, is added. That feeble prelate, who eventually opposed the accession of his nephew, Henry IV., and suffered himself to be proclaimed by the Guises as king of the League, replied to those who afterwards remonstrated with him on his unnatural proceeding, " No ties of

blood must be heeded; and no deed must be thought too atrocious, if it aids the extermination of heresy!" It is believed that Catherine de Medici was not cognizant of the meditated crime: her actions, at any rate, both before and after the discovery of the conspiracy, confirm the supposition. Montluc, the king's lieutenant in the southern provinces, nevertheless, was one of the initiated; and he was prepared to employ the royal army under his command in support of Philip's enterprise. The question remains undecided, in this case, whether so loyal a subject as the marshal, and so devoted a partisan of queen Catherine's, would render himself liable to the penalties of treason by consenting to act in so grave a matter, without instructions from his royal mistress, or without even confiding the project to her ear.

The first phase of the conspiracy manifested itself during the sojourn which the queen of Navarre made at Vendôme, after taking leave of Catherine and her son, at Lyons. The whole province of Lower Navarre broke into revolt; the rebels, being incited by certain ecclesiastics, who had been despoiled of their benefices by the decree alienating the temporalities of the Roman Church throughout the principality. The energetic measures pursued by the count de Grammont partially put down the insurrection; but the sedition more than answered the designs of Jeanne's enemies; inasmuch, as the queen, on receiving intelligence of it, departed instantly for Pau, where she arrived soon after the ringleader of the insurgents,

one Guillaume Labaddie, a canon of the cathedral at Oléron, was brought a prisoner to the capital.

Philip, meantime, was at Monçon, holding the Cortès of Arragon. A report was purposely propagated that his Spanish majesty intended, on leaving Monçon, to undertake a campaign to expel the remainder of his Moorish subjects from Spain, and that Philip purposed to assume the command in person. on the rising of the Cortès. This rumour served as a plausible pretext for bringing up numerous bodies of soldiery along the frontiers of French Navarre; for Barcelona had been named by the king as the place of rendezvous for his army. When every portion of the plan seemed matured, it was agreed that Philip should despatch a division of this army to Tarragona; a detachment was to be drafted therefrom, and sent over the Pyrenees by mountain passes and hidden tracks to form a junction with the troops of Montluc. Amidst the general rising of the disaffected population of Lower Navarre an advance was designed upon Pau. The queen was then to be conveyed a prisoner over the frontier, and delivered to the mercy of her implacable enemy. Every measure to insure the success of the scheme was calculated with consummate ability. Jeanne's possible retreat over the frontier of Béarn into Guyenne was provided against; and had not a providential circumstance occurred to defeat the design, her capture must have been inevitable.

In the most skilfully concerted schemes the failure

of a single incident, however trifling, is often sufficient to overthrow the whole ; and so it fortunately proved at this juncture, though the defect proceeded from a source whence it could least have been expected. A certain malcontent Béarnois, named Dimanche, had been employed by the conspirators as their medium of communication. This man was a staunch Romanist. His hatred against the queen of Navarre was augmented almost to frenzy, by an edict which she fearlessly published after her return from Vendôme, securing to Roman Catholic ecclesiastics the full enjoyment and tenure of their benefices, on condition that they accepted the reformed ritual. The edict was followed by numerous instances of submission ; the test, which the priesthood considered as likely to be most pleasing to their sovereign, that they should marry, being very universally adopted. This Dimanche, having first communicated with all the participants in the design, was despatched by Montluc from Bordeaux into Spain to confer with Philip, and the duke of Alba. He, therefore, crossed the Pyrenees, and repaired to the town of Alba, where the duke waited his arrival. After many conferences, the duke gave Dimanche instructions to proceed to Monçon, and present himself before Philip, who was still presiding there over the Cortès ; he, also, sent an aide-de-camp, Don Francisco Ayala, to introduce the Béarnois envoy to his royal master.

At Madrid, however, Dimanche fell ill, and was unable to proceed ; but, as it was first believed that

his sickness would only be temporary, Don Francisco journeyed alone to Monçon, in Arragon, to announce to the king the envoy's expected arrival. The malady which had stricken Dimanche, however, increased; and in his paroxysms of suffering he repeatedly implored the presence and attendance of one of his own countrymen. Vespier, a *valet-de-chambre* in the service of the queen of Spain, charitably responded to the appeal of the dying man, as Dimanche was then considered to be. Contrary to the expectations of every one, however, Dimanche rallied; in the warmth of his gratitude for the generous assistance he had received from Vespier, the Béarnois mysteriously hinted, that although he was too poor to reward his charitable offices, yet, that those who had sent him into Spain, on the errand upon which he was bound, were mighty enough to grant Vespier recompense. This speech, together with other dark allusions uttered by Dimanche during the delirium of fever, convinced Elizabeth's sagacious *valet-de-chambre* that the Béarnois was the depository of some state secret of importance. Vespier, therefore, redoubled his attentions to the sick man, and resorted to various devices to unravel the mystery. At length, he extorted from the Béarnois the entire plot, in all its details. Vespier listened with affright and indignation to the words exultingly pronounced by Dimanche, "before many weeks have elapsed, the Princess of Béarn, and her children, will be in the power of the Holy Inquisition." Whether this

revelation escaped in the transports of delirious agitation, or was extorted from a mind weakened by disease, its effect upon the actions of the queen's gentleman of the chamber was decisive ; the more so as Vespier happened to be a subject born of the house of Albret. He very prudently, however, first requested a sight of Dimanche's written instructions ; and this was, likewise, conceded by the Béarnois.

Having thus acquired certainty of the existence of the plot, Vespier confided the secret to the abbé St. Etienne, formerly preceptor to the queen of Spain ; and who then filled the post of Elizabeth's grand almoner. St. Etienne immediately sought audience of his royal mistress, and revealing the intrigue which menaced the life of the queen of Navarre, he earnestly implored Elizabeth to save so near a relative from the dreadful fate impending. The young queen listened to his recital with indignation ; tears bedewed her beautiful face, as she exclaimed, "*A Dieu ne plaise, que cette méchanceté advienne !*" The fear of Philip's wrath, so paralyzing to every other individual about the palace, deterred not the queen from taking immediate measures for frustrating the scheme. Elizabeth, conscious of the empire which her beauty gave her over the heart of the stern monarch, dared even to thwart that which Philip seemed to prize most amongst his royal prerogatives—the power of revenge. She instantly wrote a letter in cypher to the French ambassador, Everard de Saint Sulpice, revealing the

enterprise ; she sent the ambassador a description of Dimanche's person ; and she even indicated the lodging which he was to occupy after his arrival at Monçon, when convalescent. Finally, she prayed Saint Sulpice to inform the queen of Navarre of her peril. Elizabeth's courier arrived at Monçon one day before the Béarnois, Dimanche. Saint Sulpice took measures to watch his movements, and he ascertained that Ayala, during the course of a day, had introduced the envoy three times into Philip's private cabinet, and that a long conference ensued, at each interview. The extraordinary movements of the Spanish army in Catalonia, had before excited the suspicion of the French ambassador ; and now confirmed his belief in the reality of the enterprise denounced by the queen.¹

Saint Sulpice, therefore, secretly despatched his secretary of legation, Rouleau, the bearer of letters to Catherine de Medici, containing a detail of Dimanche's revelation. He also intrusted him with a despatch for the queen of Navarre, which Rouleau was directed to forward to Pau, on his arrival at Bayonne. The ambassador exhorted Jeanne to retire from the principality, and seek refuge at Nérac, where she would find a safe refuge under the protection of the king of France.

¹ De Thou, *Hist. de son Temps*, liv. 36, who gives a minute detail of every circumstance connected with this conspiracy to betray Jeanne d'Albret into the power of the Inquisition.—*Mémoires de l'Etat de France*, sous Charles IX.

The valiant heart of Jeanne d'Albret surpassed itself in this moment of peril. Instead of following the advice of St. Sulpice, she commenced measures of defence; she visited her fortresses, penetrating to the very frontiers of Spain; then, she calmly retired to her strong castle of Navarreins, taking with her her ladies and the little madame Catherine, and waited the event—prepared to sustain a vigorous siege. She addressed to Catherine de Medici, and to the king, a most indignant denunciation of the treacherous plot. She declared that Philip, by his disloyal and cruel project, had, in her person, aimed a murderous blow at all the sovereign heads of Europe. Finally, Jeanne demanded, that condign punishment might be awarded to all who had joined and abetted the conspiracy.

Rouleau found the court sojourning at Valence, on the Rhone. Catherine, at first, refused to believe in the reality of the plot, saying, “that her daughter, the queen of Spain, if there had been any truth in the alleged design, would have written the details directly to herself.” Elizabeth, however, no doubt believed that she had interfered in the affair to the very extent of her duty as the consort of Philip: she had presumed to frustrate her husband's project—a deed, which would have brought any other person, subject to the laws of Spain, upon the scaffold. Rouleau assured Catherine that he had himself seen Dimanche enter Philip's cabinet, in disguise. The queen then sent for the constable, and the secretary

of state, Claude de l'Aubespine, and ordered Rouleau to read the ambassador's letter, and to repeat his own statement, in their presence. Montmorency counselled the queen to issue a warrant of arrest for Dimanche, when he should return to France, elate with the apparently successful result of his mission. This advice the queen declined to adopt. Catherine's conduct, at this period, certainly seems mysterious: she, however, openly expressed the utmost abhorrence and amazement at the contemplated enterprise; though she resolutely refused to allow any investigation to be made, or inquiry instituted, into the guilt of the parties implicated. Probably, the rank of the accused convinced Catherine that their arraignment would inevitably again plunge France into the abyss of civil warfare. Sheltered within the fortress of Navarreins, the queen of Navarre was there safe from the malignant treason of her enemies; and with that knowledge Catherine declared herself content. In reply to the continued appeals for justice, made to the privy-council by Jeanne d'Albret, Catherine positively returned the answer, "that the Protestants had more than once been guilty of similar violent intents towards the king, their sovereign lord; and that the queen of Navarre ought to follow the example his majesty had set, of freely forgiving those injuries which it was out of his power to punish!"¹ Dimanche escaped all chastisement, both for his treacherous revelation of the plot, and, likewise, for

¹ Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret*, t. i. De Thou.

having undertaken such a mission. On his return from Spain, he proceeded in disguise to Paris, where he found shelter for some time in the hotel of one of the conspirators — probably, that of the cardinal de Lorraine—and afterwards in the monastery “des Bons Hommes.” This concealment on the part of Dimanche was adopted to escape the vengeance of some of his original employers, whose safety his revelations had compromised, rather than from fear of arrest from the government.

A circumstance, meantime, occurred which offered direct testimony that Philip's cruel design towards Jeanne d'Albret had neither been misrepresented, nor exaggerated; for the self-same plot, originally organized against her life, was successfully executed, at this very time, upon two persons whose heretical opinions had given offence to the Inquisition. Two French merchants, formerly inhabitants of Sardaigne, in Rousillon, having become converts to the principles of reform, quitted that county, and established themselves in Foix, under the tolerant sway of the queen of Navarre. These persons had long been marked for destruction by the Holy Office. One night, therefore, a party of Philip's soldiery, accompanied by a band of officials from the Inquisition, made a sudden descent upon the little town where these unfortunate men had found refuge, surprised, and conveyed them, bound hand and foot, to Sardaigne, where they were delivered over to the tender mercy of that dreaded tribunal. It was in

vain that the magistrates of Foix offered every opposition in their power to this flagrant violation of the right of territory, and admonished the Spanish officer, in command of the troop, that he was invading a country held by the queen of Navarre, under the crown of France; the hostile attitude of the soldiers indicated that their orders had been express and preremptory. The parliament of Toulouse immediately memorialised the queen of Navarre, and urged her to address remonstrances on the subject to the court of France. "Madame," said the counsellors, who a few months before had so violently assailed Jeanne's sovereign rights, "in this outrage, the king and your majesty have been notably injured; not only in the matter that these persons have, without your permission and assent, executed the mandate of this said court of Inquisition, which is not recognized in this realm; but also, that they have entered this kingdom, and your dominions, in arms, and have committed a violent deed, demonstrating on the part of those who sent them, an outrage and contempt most inexcusable."¹ The queen wrote from Navarreins on this matter to Catherine de Medici; the latter being very sensible of the spirit of enterprise which possessed her son-in-law, as respected the realm of France, thought proper to order the French

¹ Inquisition d'Espagne.—Les Avocats et Procureurs de la Ville de Toulouse à la royne de Navarre. MSS. Bib. Roy.—Mortemart, vol. 39.—Inedited. The document is dated, Tholouse, 12 Novembre, 1564.

ambassador, in Madrid, to make a forcible remonstrance on the subject. Accordingly, Saint Sulpice waited upon Philip II, before he quitted Madrid to spend the Christmas festival of 1564, in seclusion, at some monastery, as was his Spanish majesty's invariable custom. In reply to the ambassador's remonstrances, at the bold inroad of Spanish troops on the territories of queen Jeanne, Philip replied, "that he had never given any special command on the subject, and that he should be sorry to ordain such a thing. Nevertheless, the Inquisition, without having respect to nation, quality, or person, proceeded, as it was privileged, to take cognizance in affairs of religion, and to chastise those guilty of heresy." The king added, "that he would speak on the affair to the Grand Inquisitor, and let the ambassador know the result of the conference." There is no record, however, that the unfortunate merchants regained their liberty. The French court did not, probably, persist in its solicitations on the subject, satisfied with having entered a protest on the lawless invasion of territory by the emissaries of the king of Spain.

During her residence at Navarreins, queen Jeanne issued some excellent laws for the pacification of Lower Navarre—that unhappy province, always torn by domestic and religious strife, coveted by the king of Spain, and infested by his agents, who, under plea

¹ Lettre de St. Sulpice, ambassadeur en Espagne, au roy Charles IX.—Bib. Roy. MSS. de Mortemart, 39 : datée de Madrid, ce dernier jour de Décembre, 1564.—Inedited.

of zeal for the Romish faith, kindled disaffection and revolt. While abiding in her fortress-palace, the queen seems to have resorted to the same severe studies by which she had diversified her former abode there in 1560. She had then studied the ancient *fueros* of her principality; the codes promulgated by Henry and Marguerite: and the laws which governed the innumerable local courts of her dominions. Jeanne, at this period, enlarged her studies; she perused the codes of the most celebrated legislators of antiquity, with a view to the thorough reformation of the existing laws of Béarn. Assisted by the chancellor Francourt, the queen devoted many hours daily to this laborious undertaking. The criminal code, Jeanne submitted to her judges to undergo a thorough revision. Severe penalties were decreed, in the new code against persons convicted of uttering counterfeit coin; or of clipping, or otherwise defacing, her majesty's coinage—a crime which appears to have been very prevalent. The salaries of the officers presiding in all her courts, are carefully regulated by the queen. Jeanne's attorney-general had a salary of 300 livres Tournois; the first master of requests, and the president-criminal, 400 livres Tournois. All barristers pleading in her courts are expressly admonished, by Jeanne, not to attempt to conceal truth, by florid declamation: but to represent facts as they found them, so that the minds of her people, and of her judges, might not be distorted by partiality or by prejudice. Many other admirable

exhortations abound in this code of laws, which at once evidence the intellectual powers possessed by Jeanne d'Albret, and the extent of her insight into the social wants of her people. The queen quitted Navarreins, to spend the Christmas of 1564 at Pau, and to publish her code. These laws were received with rapturous gratitude by the Béarnois, who found in their application a remedy for many abuses which had long oppressed them. Even the inhabitants of Lower Navarre discovered, for once, matter for approbation in the deeds of their noble-hearted sovereign ; and they deigned to nominate a deputation, to thank the queen for her enlightened legislation. This code, which was called *le Stil de la Royne Jeanne*, remained in force, without modification, throughout the domains of the house of Albret, until after the Great Revolution.

The winter of 1564 set in with extraordinary severity. All the rivers in France were frozen for the space of several weeks. The vine and olive-yards suffered severely from the frost ; and the public roads were blocked with snow, so as to interrupt, for days together, all traffic and communication. In the midst of this inclement season, the king and his mother continued their progress, as the weather permitted. At Carcassone, where the young monarch arrived on the 12th of January, 1565, so heavy a storm of snow fell, that Charles was detained for ten days, as the snow lay on the ground upwards of six feet deep. The object of this journey taken by

Catherine de Medici, through the southern provinces of the realm, was to meet her daughter, Elizabeth, queen of Spain, at Bayonne, in the territories of the queen of Navarre. The duke of Alba, Philip's minister, and the favoured counsellor, to whom the king confided all his schemes for the annihilation of heresy, accompanied his royal mistress. Most historians have stated, and documentary evidence confirms the assertion, that the object of this celebrated interview was to give greater development to the convention concluded at Peronne. The interview of the young and innocent Elizabeth with her mother and brother, was the veil which concealed the purport of the ominous conference.

“It is a well known fact, in respect to these conferences,” says the President de Thou,¹ “that Jean Baptiste Adriani, who continued Guicciardini's history with great fidelity and exactitude, and who, according to all appearances, made deep research into the papers of Cosmo, duke of Florence, has stated in his writings that this conference was holden at the request of the pope, and that the king of Spain desired greatly that the pope should be present: the matter to discuss being—the means to deliver France from the Protestants, whose faith was regarded as pestilential. The conference ended in the adoption of the opinion expressed by the duke of Alba, which coincided with that of Philip; namely, that all the most illustrious heads should first fall;

¹ Hist. de son Temps, liv. 37.

and that the plan of the Sicilian Vespers should be followed, and all protestants massacred indiscriminately."

It was the frequent boast of the king of Spain, "that instead of employing doctors to convert heretics, he commissioned executioners to destroy them." Catherine de Medici, therefore, was extremely anxious to come to some definite determination with the king of Spain, on the all-absorbing topic of politics in the sixteenth century—the suppression of heresy.

The interview between Catherine and her daughter took place during the month of June, 1565. The splendour of the fêtes and pageants, given on the occasion by the courts of France and Spain, exhaust the descriptive powers of the various chroniclers, who have recorded them. The duke of Alba escorted his royal mistress; he was, moreover, commissioned by his sovereign to invest the young king of France with the order of the Golden Fleece. Although the interview between the queens of France and Spain took place in Jeanne's territory, the queen of Navarre was not invited to be present at the festivities. Catherine dreaded Jeanne's penetration; and did all in her power to induce the queen to believe that the interview had no other object than to gratify her maternal tenderness. At Bayonne, during the day, nothing was heard or debated, but the details of balls, fêtes, and pompous pageants. Even statesmen of the gravity of Alba and de l'Hopitâl, appeared to be inspired with no graver care than the pastime of the

present. At night, however, Catherine repaired to her daughter's apartments by a secret passage constructed between their two abodes, which were contiguous. There she met the dukes of Alba and Najara, the bishops of Pampeluna and Burgos, and other trusted members of the Spanish cabinet. These midnight conferences were not unknown to the queen of Navarre, and they naturally excited the utmost alarm and consternation in her mind. In the suite of king Charles was the young prince of Navarre, then in his twelfth year. Jeanne had felt great reluctance to permit her son to take part in the interview between the courts, fearing that his rights to the kingdom of Upper Navarre might be thereby compromised. Catherine, however, had insisted on the presence of the prince in the king's train. The queen, therefore, unable to resist the mandate, had wisely determined to mitigate the evil, by surrounding her son with some of the wisest and most trusted of her faithful Béarnois nobility. She very expressly commanded the young prince to conduct himself solely by their advice and council, as if she herself were present to claim his obedience. The prince was frequently admitted by Catherine to her private apartments; his youth, and the lively *enjouement* of Henry's character deceived the queen, who believed that pleasure was his paramount object. One day, it is recorded, Henry overheard the duke of Alba observe to queen Catherine, that, the only way to tranquillize the kingdom, and to subdue the disaffection of the princes, was to re-enact

in France the tragedy of the Sicilian vespers, and not to spare the noblest blood: "*Car, madame,*" said the duke, "*une tête de saumon vaut mieux que cent têtes de grenouilles.*"¹ The duke, moreover, exhorted king Charles to follow the example of his brother, Francis II., who, had his life been prolonged, intended to have exacted from every noble in the kingdom a distinct profession of faith, taking condign vengeance on all dissentients from the holy Roman faith. On quitting the apartments of Catherine, Henry repeated all he had heard to one of queen Jeanne's privy councillors, named de Calignon, in attendance about his person. De Calignon, finding his fears confirmed respecting the treacherous nature of the conference, despatched a messenger with a letter in cypher to the queen of Navarre, who was sojourning at Pau. Jeanne was suffering from illness and depression; a presentiment of the evil likely to follow from the personal conference of such spirits as those of Alba and Catherine, each commanding the resources of a powerful kingdom, filled her mind with apprehension. The president de Calignon added, moreover, that it had been debated in the secret conclave, held nightly in the apartment of the young Elizabeth, whether the town of Moulins should not be the scene of the atrocious measure contemplated, whither the court was to repair on its return, that Catherine might effect an outward reconciliation between the hostile houses of Guise and

¹ Mathieu, Hist. de France, t. i. p. 183.

Châtillon. Without losing an instant in useless conjecture, Jeanne despatched missives to Condé, to the admiral de Coligny, the cardinal de Châtillon, and to the chiefs of the Huguenot faction; thus were the seeds sown, that gradually ripened into disastrous maturity, and which, ere long, resulted in a second bloody war.

It is probable, however, that the fears, and the distrust felt by the Protestant chiefs, respecting Catherine de Medici, induced them to exaggerate their danger. There exists no doubt that the question of the extirpation of heresy was discussed by Catherine, and the duke of Alba; but the assertion that a massacre of the Huguenot chieftains at Moulins was absolutely contemplated, is not confirmed by documentary evidence of valid description. Indeed, at the very time of the interview at Bayonne, Catherine, with her habitual dissimulation was carrying on a secret correspondence with the emperor, with a view to the pacification of France by the concession of certain rights and privileges to the reformed Gallican churches. The rapid spread of Lutheranism, throughout the provinces of Philip's dominions of the Low Countries, inspired Catherine with disquiet. The formidable party, distinguished by the soubriquet of *les Gueux*, applied to it first by the duchess of Parma's confidential adviser, the count de Barlaimont, had established relations with the French Protestants. It is not to be wondered, however, that gloomy distrust, once more roused the passions, and factious defiance, lulled by the

concessions so reluctantly made by Catherine at the Peace of Orleans. Gradually the privileges granted to the Lutherans had been curtailed. Edict after edict diminished somewhat of their privilege of freedom of worship. The peril to which the queen of Navarre had been subjected; and the sinister proceedings of the Inquisition to establish its authority over the south of France, excited the keenest apprehension. The massacres perpetrated by the king's lieutenant, de Montluc in Languedoc and Guyenne, impelled and kept ever glowing a spirit of retaliation. Aware of the want of confidence felt towards her, both by the Catholic king, and the Protestant league, and placed between two potent factions without possessing strength of purpose to adhere faithfully to either, Catherine conceded first to one party, and then to the other, maintaining her position by dexterous artifice, and dissimulating her weakness, until the necessity for definite action, led her to assent hastily to the subsequent massacre on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, which has doomed her memory to opprobrium.

During the interview of Bayonne, the princely bearing of the young heir of Béarn excited the admiration of the Spanish court. Henry's graceful deportment and adroitness in all manly games, elicited from the duke de Medina de Rioseco¹ the exclamation, "*Mi parece que este principe ó es Emperador ó lo ha de ser !*"

¹ Don Juan Alonso Enriquez de Cabrera, Duque de Medina Rioseco, Conde de Medica, grand-admiral of Castile.

CHAPTER II.

Queen Jeanne entertains Charles IX. at Nérac—The queen accompanies the court to Moulins—Her visit to Vendôme—Panic with which her presence inspires Miron, governor of Vendôme—His letter to the duke de Montpensier—The queen gains a suit against the cardinal de Bourbon—She visits the printing establishment of the Etiennes—Impromptu composed by Jeanne d'Albret on this occasion—Reply sent to the queen by Henri Etienne—Revolt of the inhabitants of Pamiers—Insurrection is suppressed by the count de Rambouillet—The Béarnois send a deputation to the queen at Paris—Its object—Letters-patent issued by queen Jeanne, July 1566—The queen visits La Fère—She requests permission to take her son—Displeasure of queen Catherine—Her parting words to Jeanne d'Albret—The queen departs for La Fère—She visits the castles of Beaumont and La Flèche—League formed in Béarn by the Roman Catholic prelates to resist the execution of Jeanne's letters patent—Return of the queen to Pau—Conspiracy of the barons—Its progress—Sanctioned by the court of France—Jeanne convokes the states-general of Foix, Béarn and Navarre—Contumacious deportment of the assembly—They demand the repeal of the letters-patent—The queen refuses their petition—The assembly demands its dismissal—Edicts published by the queen regulating matters of religion—Marriage of the count de Guiche with Corisande d'Andouins—Correspondence of Jeanne with Charles IX.—Her letters to the viscount de Gourdon—Renewal of the civil war in France—Jeanne retires to Pau—Scandal current respecting queen Jeanne—Con-

dition of the country—Battle of St. Denis—Condé besieges Chartres—Catherine tenders an offer of peace, which is accepted by Condé—Terms of the peace of Chartres—The inhabitants of La Rochelle refuse to make submission to Charles IX.—The insurgent barons of Béarn request the intercession of Catherine de Medici—The queen sends Fénélon to intercede on their behalf—Reply of the queen of Navarre to the ambassador's suit—The barons surrender themselves—Their audience of queen Jeanne—Jeanne sends a gentleman of her chamber to king Charles, with suggestions for a permanent peace—She assembles the states of her principality—Their loyal deportment—Catherine de Medici attempts to surprise Condé and the insurgent leaders—Flight of Condé from Noyers—Its consequences—Commencement of the third civil contest—Plot discovered by the queen of Navarre for the abduction of the prince of Navarre—Jeanne determines to espouse the cause of the princes—She repairs to Nérac—Correspondence with the marshal de Montluc—Her interview with Fénélon—Her letter to the viscount de Gourdon—Her flight from Nérac—Her journey and safe arrival at Bergerac—Montluc pursues the queen—Jeanne's letter to Charles IX.—Her letters to the cardinal de Bourbon and to queen Catherine—Edict issued by the king, totally suppressing the reformed worship throughout France—Procession of the court to Nôtre Dame de Paris—Queen Jeanne proceeds to Archiac—Her meeting with Condé, and the confederate barons—Entry of the queen of Navarre into La Rochelle.

THE visit of the queen of Spain to her royal mother and brother lasted seventeen days. Catherine, after taking leave of her daughter, proceeded on her progress. On the 28th of July, king Charles made his entry into the town of Nérac,¹ where he was received and magnificently entertained by the queen of Navarre. If the misgivings of Jeanne had been excited by the report sent to her of the conferences at Bayonne, the deportment of Catherine and her

¹ Itinéraire des rois de France.

son, confirmed her distrust. Never were the gracious, and winning manners of Catherine more condescendingly demonstrated. The king, likewise, overwhelmed Jeanne with friendly courtesies ; yet less practised in dissimulation than his mother, his hatred of the Huguenots continually betrayed itself. The pungent jest, and the mocking allusion to the calamities of France, so often on the lips of her monarch, revealed to the penetrating eye of Jeanne d'Albret, the resentment which agitated his mind against the "disturbers of the peace of the realm."

During the sojourn of the court at Nérac, the queen of Navarre repeated her request, that the prince of Béarn might, for the future, remain under her guardianship. As usual, the request was refused. Jeanne, therefore, suddenly decided upon accompanying the king to Moulins. She was resolved to rescue her son from the moral ruin which menaced him in the licentious court of the Valois. She had, likewise, another reason for her journey into France, one which affected the pecuniary interest of the prince, her son. The cardinal de Bourbon, to punish his sister-in-law for her heresy, unexpectedly claimed again the lands he had ceded to Jeanne on her marriage, and which were secured to her by contract. To defend her rights, therefore, Jeanne determined to proceed to Moulins ; and from thence to journey to the capital. Charles quitted Nérac on the 1st of August. It is related that the desolate condition of the country through which the king travelled, and the sight of the ruined

churches and monasteries excited in Charles' mind a transport of wrath ; with gloomy mien, and with eyes sparkling with fury, he pointed out these ravages to Jeanne d'Albret, while sarcastically commenting on the alleged humility of the sectarians, and on the christian spirit attributed to them, of preferring martyrdom to the crimes of vengeance and rebellion.¹ From that moment, it is assured, the queen of Navarre predicted the bloody tragedy impending over the country.

Jeanne made a brief sojourn at Moulins ; from thence she proceeded to her favourite city of Vendôme. Popular tumults disturbed the peace of the inhabitants ; and La Curée, the governor appointed by the queen, had been slain by his Roman Catholic townsmen. The provinces of Maine, Touraine, and l'Orleannois, through which she passed, were agitated by religious factions ; so that Jeanne often travelled in peril of her life, from the violence of the seditious multitudes. Vendôme was under the sway of a commissioner, one Gabriel Miron, sent by the king to suppress the insurrectionary movement, during which La Curée fell. When Miron heard of the approach of queen Jeanne, his apprehension was greatly excited ; as he supposed that the object of her journey was to avenge the death of La Curée. He, accordingly, despatched a courier to the duke de Montpensier, lieutenant-in-chief over the midland provinces of France, to inform him that the queen of Navarre was on her road to Orleans, at the head

¹ Davila, *Hist. des Guerres Civiles*, t. i. liv. 3. p. 216.

of 1500 men at arms, and that it was her majesty's intent to surprise and capture Orleans, Blois, Tours and Amboise. He requested the duke to send a body of soldiers to intercept Jeanne's march ; " besides which, monseigneur, you must graciously grant permission, liberty, and command, to the people, to rise *en masse*, and, at the sound of the tocsin, to take up arms, and go forth to seize and annihilate the said queen of Navarre!"¹—so greatly did the arrival of queen Jeanne terrify the king's commissioner. Whilst Miron thus remained fired with martial excitement, the queen of Navarre made her peaceful entry into Vendôme, attended by a numerous suite of ladies, and escorted by twelve gentlemen only. She proceeded to the castle, and there took up her abode. The inhabitants of her duchy received Jeanne with acclamations ; and, far from sharing in Miron's bloody projects, they guarded the queen with jealous watchfulness, during her residence among them. The panic felt by the royal commissioner, so ludicrously assuaged by queen Jeanne's pacific cavalcade and entry, afforded the brave Vendomois with subject for many a witty jest.

The proceedings instituted by the cardinal de Bourbon to regain possession of the domains of Condé la Ferté, obliged the queen to repair hastily to Paris, after a brief sojourn at Vendôme, much to the relief and contentment of messire Gabriel Miron. The animosity which the cardinal felt against his

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret, t. i. De Thou.

sister-in-law was extreme at this period. The weak intellect of this unfortunate prelate rendered him a ready instrument for evil in the hands of the partisans of Spain and Lorraine. The king of Spain affected to regard the cardinal as the only prince, in collateral descent, capable of succeeding hereafter to the crown of France; Jeanne's son, and Condé and his children, having forfeited, as Philip averred, their right to the succession, should it lapse from the direct line. The cardinal had all the faults of his brother, king Antoine, augmented by a neglected education, and an intellect even more contracted and puerile. His cause against Jeanne d'Albret was supported by the influence of the house of Guise. His ungenerous project of despoiling his brother's widow was, nevertheless, disallowed by the parliament of Paris. That august body, despite its many shortcomings, and its fervid bigotry, generally legislated with due regard to principle and honour. The cardinal's suit was, therefore, rejected by an immense majority of the assembled chambers; a decision immediately confirmed by the council of state.¹

During her sojourn in Paris, Jeanne visited the printing establishment of Henri Etienne, son of the celebrated printer, Robert Etienne, who died at Geneva, in 1559. The queen manifested the greatest interest in every portion of the establishment: though Jeanne's life was passed amid contention and warfare, she inherited from her mother a fervid love for

¹ Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, p. 22.

literature. She spoke Latin, with ease and elegance ; her acquirements in the Greek tongue are also highly lauded. Her poetic talents she had not leisure to cultivate ; yet, the readiness with which Jeanne composed the following impromptu, in praise of printing, on the occasion of her visit to the Etiennes, proves that the art so prized by her accomplished mother, was likewise appreciated by herself. The verse is the only one now extant, composed by the queen of Navarre.

“ Art singulier, d’ici aux derniers ans
 Representez aux enfans de ma race,
 Que j’ai suivi des Craignants-dieu la trace
 Afin qu’ils soient des mêmes pas suivants !”

In reply to this address, Etienne presented the queen with the following sonnet.

REPONSE EN FORME DE SONNET AU NOM DE L’IM-
 PRIMERIE A LA DITE DAME ROYNE.

Princesse que le ciel de graces favorise,
 A qui les Craignans-dieu souhaitent tout bonheur,
 A qui les grands esprits ont donné tout honneur,
 Pour avoir doctement la science conquise.

S’il est vrai que du temps la plus brave entreprise,
 Au devant des vertus abbaise sa grandeur,
 S’il est vrai que les ans n’offusquent la splendeur
 Qui fait luire partout les enfans de l’Eglise.

Le ciel, les Craignans-dieu et les hommes savants
 Me feront raconter aux peuples survivans,
 Vos graces, et votre heur et louange notoire.
 Et puisque vos vertus ne peuvent prendre fin

Par vous je demeurerai vivante, à cette fin
Qu'aux peuples à venir j'en porte la mémoire.¹

During the following month of June, 1566, the queen of Navarre received news, while sojourning at Paris, that her subjects, the citizens of Pamiers had risen in revolt, and turbulently refused to submit to her officers. The cause of the tumult originating in a mandate issued by the queen, to suppress throughout her dominions the May games, and certain ceremonies connected with the celebration of that floral festival, which she thought highly injurious to public morality. The excesses to which the malcontents resorted, supported by their bishop, Jacques de Pelevé, who cared not for the cause of sedition, provided that the sovereign right of the queen of Navarre was assailed, at length became so flagrant, that Jeanne was compelled to request the aid of king Charles's lieutenants in putting down the revolt. The count de Rambouillet, therefore, entered the county of Foix, and soon put the daring rebels to rout; but less merciful than their injured and oft-defied sovereign, the count properly condemned the ringleaders of the insurgents to expiate their crimes on the gallows.² Jeanne's faithful lieges of Béarn, meantime, contemplated with sorrow and indignation the enormities committed by their fellow-subjects, the inhabitants of Lower Navarre, under pretext of allegiance to the See of Rome. The chief inhabitants of Pau, there-

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. F. Gaignières, No. 1384.

² Olhagaray, *Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre*, p. 559.

fore, convoked an assembly at the commencement of the month of June, 1566, in which it was determined to despatch a deputation to the queen of Navarre to implore her majesty to make final, and total abolition of the Roman Catholic faith throughout the hereditary domains of Albret. She was likewise solicited to govern in strict accord with the maxims of Holy Scripture ; and to issue stringent laws against thieves, usurers, drunkards, gamblers, and tavern-keepers, all which class of persons greatly infested her majesty's loyal principality. The Calvinist minister, Michel de Vignaux, was elected chief of the deputation, which immediately set out for Paris, taking a very notable exposition of the causes provoking the turbulent condition of Lower Navarre, according to the opinion of Jeanne's faithful lieges of Pau, to present to the sovereign.¹

No petition could be more in accord with Jeanne's private wishes and sentiments. The minister de Vignaux, received most cordial greeting, and was lodged in the hotel de Condé, where the queen resided. In matters of religion, the queen of Navarre conceded nothing to expediency ; nor would she even postpone any decision connected with the controversy between the two modes of faith, after its utility had once impressed itself on her mind, until a more propitious opportunity. Her sense of the overwhelming injury which she had received from the pope, and from the king of Spain, hurried her often

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, p. 563.

to acts solely intended to manifest her utter disregard, both of their power, and of their vengeance. Her dauntless temper defied their threats ; and her retaliations were prompt, and seldom unsuccessful. The queen, therefore, condescended to the prayer of the deputation. Jeanne issued her letters-patent about the commencement of July, 1566. She thereby forbade the ecclesiastics of Béarn, Foix and Navarre, to confer benefices ; the same prohibition extended to all lay patrons professing the Romish faith. The benefices lapsed were to be conferred by the same ecclesiastical board that administered the confiscated revenues of the priesthood. The queen interdicted public processions, interment in the churches, dissolute amusements, and games of chance. She likewise ordained in this very comprehensive edict, that all persons excommunicated by the ministers of the reformed faith, should after the lapse of one year be deemed guilty of felony, and their property forfeited, unless they forthwith made their submission to the church, and received the benefit of absolution.¹ The queen then dismissed de Vignaux, and his colleagues, confiding to them her edict, which she expressly commanded should be delivered to the count de Grammont, and promptly published.

After Jeanne had taken leave of de Vignaux, she prepared to visit her domains of La Fère, in Picardy. Before her departure, she waited upon the king, to

¹ Olhagaray, *Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre*, p. 563. Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret*.

request his majesty's leave to take prince Henry with her, that she might present him to the vassals and retainers of Vendôme. Charles unhesitatingly granted the queen's request, without having even a suspicion of the project which absorbed her mind. When Catherine was informed of the permission which her son had given, she displayed much annoyance; and, more wily than the king, she seems to have suspected Jeanne's secret design. Catherine, therefore, convinced of the policy of retaining the young prince de Béarn under her own control, as a hostage for his royal mother's fidelity, refused her assent to his journey into Picardy, and even absolutely prohibited his departure from St. Germain. Jeanne conducted herself with her usual prudence and moderation: she entered into no debate on the subject with the queen; but she firmly reiterated the promise which the king had made her, remarking, "that it would be too great a discredit to his majesty to suppose him capable of breaking his word." Charles, therefore, insisted that his promise should be fulfilled, as Jeanne had rightly conjectured. Obligated, then, to yield the point against her better judgment, Catherine exclaimed, when she bade farewell to the prince, and suffered him to depart with his mother from St. Germain, "Madame, once more I rely implicitly on your word, and on your honour, that the peace and the repose of France shall not be endangered by this concession which we have made!" "Your majesty honours me greatly by asking my co-operation in so

desirable an object. I entreat you, madame, to be assured that I shall never fail in the devotion which I owe to the king my sovereign lord, and to yourself. The peril, or the menaced destruction of my house, could alone inspire me with altered sentiments ;”¹ was the unbending reply given by the queen of Navarre to Catherine’s admonition.

Jeanne and her son were, nevertheless, suffered to depart ; but, by vouchsafing this permission, Charles severed the last link which enabled him to exercise a controlling power over the Huguenot faction. Its chief personages were now all free from the dominion of the court : Condé, and his new consort, Françoise d’Orleans,² were sojourning at his castle of Noyers ; the admiral and his brothers were at Châtillon ; la Rochefoucauld at Verteuil ; the prince of Navarre, again under the guidance of his wise and politic mother ; all were at liberty, angry, discontented, and ready to take up arms at the slightest indication that their conjectures relative to the interview of Bayonne had real foundation. The departure of the young prince with his mother, was the error which darkened the after political fortunes of Charles IX : on the reversal of that decision, though the king divined it not, rested the future prosperity of the monarchy, as then constituted under the Valois.

¹ Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d’Albret*, t. i. p. 353.

² Françoise d’Orleans Longueville, daughter of François, marquis de Rothelin, and of Jacqueline de Rohan. She espoused the prince of Condé in 1565, and brought for her dowry the counties of Chateau-Chinon and Noyers.

Joy, such as had rarely, of late years, been the lot of the queen of Navarre, inspired Jeanne, when she embraced her son, and felt that he was rescued from the snares of the court of Catherine. Without needless delay, she departed with the prince, and an imposing suite, for Picardy: much caution was yet requisite, for the merest suspicion of her ultimate design would have sufficed for Henry's detention. From La Fère, Jeanne proceeded to visit her castle of Beaumont, in Vendomois; from thence, accompanied by her son, she journeyed to the most magnificent of the feudal domains of the house of Vendôme, the castle of La Flèche, in Anjou, where the happiest days of her married life had been spent. During her progress, Jeanne kept up a diligent correspondence with Catherine, and appeared tacitly to request her majesty's sanction for the prolongation of her journey, on the plea, that the ravages occasioned by the recent civil warfare on the various appanages of Vendôme, required the presence of the prince.

At La Flèche, the queen of Navarre received intelligence of a dangerous league forming in Béarn, to resist the publication of the letters-patent which she had issued when in Paris, at the request of Michel de Vigneux. The disaffected were chiefly ecclesiastics, or dependents on the church's bounty, whose interests had been compromised by the sequestration of the revenues of the priesthood. Their leader was Jean d'Albret, abbé de Pontac. The malcontents met to deliberate in the palace of the bishop of Les-

car, who had been terrified, by the sentence of excommunication launched against him, into making humble overtures for reconciliation with the Holy See. The power and resources of the disaffected, and their obvious relations with the Spanish government, so alarmed de Grammont, that he consented to suspend the publication of the edict until another embassy had waited upon queen Jeanne to petition her to annul, or, at any rate, to modify this decree. De Grammont, therefore, despatched d'Aureau, the queen's attorney-general, to La Flèche, to receive Jeanne's instructions, and to explain the motive of his apparent disobedience to her commands.

Although the queen felt greatly incensed at the factious attitude of her Roman Catholic subjects, yet this untoward event favoured her own designs, and she determined to make the revolt the pretext she had been so long seeking for, of excusing her own return, and that of her son to the French court. Catherine, alarmed by the queen's lengthened progress, had despatched a very positive mandate for the instant return of the prince to Paris: the terrible Montluc hovered on the confines of Anjou, and Jeanne knew that he was authorized by his royal mistress to watch her movements, and to arrest the prince did he attempt to cross the frontier of the principality. The resolution displayed by queen Jeanne generally surmounted every obstacle which opposed her designs. She dismissed d'Aureau from La Flèche, the bearer of a message to the

count de Grammont, announcing her own speedy return to Pau, and desiring that he would despatch a body of soldiers for her escort within a given period. Within six hours after the departure of d'Aureau, the queen with her son and a small retinue quitted La Flèche secretly, and rapidly traversing Guyenne, she arrived safely on the frontiers of Béarn, where she was received by the brave d'Arros, at the head of a body of troops, who escorted her in safety and triumph to Pau.¹

Jeanne's first act, after her return, was to write to Catherine de Medici and excuse her infraction of the promise she had given to conduct her son back to Paris, alleging the revolt of the barons of Béarn, which demanded her presence in the principality. This letter increased Catherine's discomfiture; she felt that again Jeanne had adroitly foiled her designs; and the courage displayed by the queen of Navarre inspired her with profound uneasiness.

After queen Jeanne had despatched her letter of explanation to the French court, she applied herself to subdue the cabal formed against her authority by her Roman Catholic subjects. Her first action was not a conciliating one; though, considering the threatening aspect of affairs in France, it would have been more prudent if the queen had tendered such; but Jeanne's tenacious mind ever prompted her to destroy the subject of contention, where she believed herself

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre. Favyn, liv. 14. De Thou.

in the right, rather than by concession to retard an act of final necessity. She accordingly issued a second edict commanding the literal execution of her letters-patent of July 1566. Moreover, believing that peace would never be established, until every trace of the religion of Rome was proscribed, she nominated commissioners to proceed throughout her dominions to remove images from the churches, to destroy the shrines and altars wherever erected, to seize the vestments of the priesthood, and to interdict the exclusive celebration of mass in any church or cathedral.¹

The edict was met by renewed defiance from the clergy: they assembled in the house of Gabriel de Béarn, seigneur de Gerdrest, where, such was their animosity against the queen, that they actually entered into a league to compass her destruction. The names of the conspirators were, Henri de Navailles, seigneur de Peré, Sainte Colombe, Jean de Bordenave, the baron de Monein, two learned advocates of the civil courts of Pau, named Tasta and Supersantis; and the principal canons of the cathedral towns of Oléron and Lescar. The object of the league was to seize and imprison the queen of Navarre and her son, in the fortress of Navarreins, and to massacre the Protestants of the principality, as they assembled to partake of the Holy Sacrament, on Whitsunday, 1567. The chapters of Lescar and Oléron undertook to furnish the pecuniary funds, requisite for the

¹ Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret*, t. II.

execution of the plot. Before the conspirators separated, they each signed the articles of this iniquitous league with their blood; and bound themselves, by frightful anathemas, never to rest until the project was accomplished, and the Roman Faith once more dominant.¹

Notwithstanding Jeanne's accustomed vigilance, no rumour of this conspiracy reached her ear; and so totally unconscious was she of danger, that the queen quitted Pau for the baths of Eaux-Chaudes. Ste. Colombe, meantime, was despatched into France, to justify, and to ask the co-operation of the king, in the design for dethroning the queen of Navarre. It was decided to put the plot into execution before Charles's answer was known; that neither the refusal of king Charles to abet the project, nor his avowed disapprobation, might dishearten the conspirators.

The baron de Moneins, however, experienced many misgivings of conscience; the only individual amongst the conspirators who could boast of illustrious extraction, his aristocratic prejudices were perpetually wounded by the tone of equality assumed by his colleagues. At length, his disquietude and remorse became so intense, that he sought an interview with the baron d'Audaux, and disclosed the design of the conspirators. D'Audaux promptly despatched his brother, St. Geniez, with a troop of horse to seize the town of Oléron, the principal haven of the disaf-

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, p. 565. De Thou.

fected. He then conducted the repentant de Moneins to the feet of his royal mistress, who, on the way to les Eaux-Chaudes, was sojourning in her town of Ossau. The queen immediately returned to Pau, from whence she despatched d'Audaux to disarm the rebels, who, upon receiving a secret notification of their betrayal by de Moneins, fled to Oléron—and to reduce that town to submit to her authority. The most sanguinary insurrection, meanwhile, broke out there after the arrival of St. Geniez. The inhabitants of Oléron, triumphant for a brief season, massacred the Protestant population of the town, committing savage outrages. Led by the abbé de Saubalade, they opposed the entrance of d'Audaux with the troops sent by Jeanne. After several engagements in the suburbs and streets of Oléron, the rebels were subdued, and the abbé de Saubalade and other leaders of the revolt were arrested, and sent in chains to Pau. They were instantly put on trial and condemned to death.¹

The queen during this interval steadily enforced the publication of her letters-patent. She next convoked the states of the principality, hoping to allay the seditious spirit which animated her subjects of Foix and Lower Navarre. The first day of the session, Jeanne proceeded to the chamber, and pronounced an harangue, in which she explained to the assembly the condition of the country, and the remedies which she proposed to adopt in order to restore

¹ Olhagaray. De Thou. Favyn.

concord. She presented her son to the chambers ; and concluded her discourse by announcing a royal act of grace, which should have mollified the heart of the most seditious in that assembly. She proclaimed the full, and complete pardon of Saubalade and the rebel leaders condemned for their treasonable design against her life, and for participation in the subsequent insurrection at Oléron. This pardon Jeanne granted on her sole responsibility; the sénéchal of Béarn, the baron d'Arros, and the count de Grammont being unanimously of opinion that the criminals ought to suffer the penalty of their crime at Oléron, which town was still filled with wailing and bloodshed through their lawless violence.

The states responded most ungraciously to the concession tendered by their royal mistress. On the day following, after voting a reply to the address made by the queen, the assembly nominated a deputation of members, headed by the bishop of Oléron, to represent to their sovereign, that her dominions would never enjoy the blessing of peace and concord, until she had repealed her letters-patent of July, 1566. They therefore prayed her to issue a revocation of the edict, ere they proceeded to discuss other matters. The states of Béarn, meantime, secretly assured the queen of their support; and counselled her not to yield to the menacing demand of their colleagues of Foix and Lower Navarre. The queen, therefore, received the prayer of the deputation with haughty displeasure ; addressing the bishop of Oléron,

she declared, "that she wondered much at the countenance he afforded to the factious demand of the members for Foix and Navarre; seeing that he had many times conjured and exhorted her not to attend mass."¹ She then dismissed the members from her presence, with the assurance, that it was her determination to maintain the edict, and to suppress the Roman Catholic religion as the dominant faith; adding, that "she willingly tolerated its profession, but denied its ascendancy." The following day, the assembly sent to demand its dismissal, as the queen refused to accede to the only method, which occurred to the majority of members, as likely to restore peace. Jeanne replied, "that there was no need for the sovereign to take leave of rebellious subjects; that it was not her intent to do violence to the assembly; but it was her desire, that they should proceed to legislate upon other matters." This, however, the members refused to do, until the obnoxious edict was repealed; and they again demanded their dismissal, in more peremptory terms. Jeanne, finding that the states were resolutely resolved to exact the recall of her edict, and being as determined to resist their dictation, she finally decided to grant them leave to depart. Accordingly, the queen sent, through the

¹ Olhagaray, *Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre*, p. 569. The bishop of Oléron was Claude Régin. His origin was obscure; and he owed his see to the favour of the queen of Navarre. The bishop had once been an ardent adherent of the Reformed Faith; but, like the bishop of Lescar, the menaces of Rome arrested his zeal for the reformation of the church.

count de Grammont, the necessary authority for their dispersion, accompanying her mandate with the message, "that to bad and faithless subjects she willingly accorded *congé!*"¹

The members, thus released from the duties of legislation, dispersed over Jeanne's dominions advocating revolt, and holding tumultuous meetings in various places of the principality. Another plot was formed to imprison the queen, and to offer the domains of the house of Albret to the crown of Spain, or to the king of France. The baron de Luxe, one of the most powerful and wealthy of the queen's subjects, joined the rebels. They were further reinforced by the adherence of the viscount d'Orthez, of Ste. Colombe, now returned from his traitorous mission into France, of Valentine count de Damesan, and by the baron de Moneins, who, although he had before betrayed the design of the conspirators, was again accepted as a confederate. It is, moreover, believed that Ste. Colombe was commissioned by Catherine de Medici to convey to the conspirators the approval of the French council in their project, provided that no personal violence was offered to the queen of Navarre, further than for her safe apprehension, and her transfer into France. This plot was, in fact, but the reorganization of that which had before been suppressed by the energy and determination of the sénéchal of Béarn.

The queen at this season, by the advice of de

¹ Olhagaray.

Grammont, issued edicts prohibiting any to carry fire-arms, to hold secret assemblies, or to ring the tocsin. She, moreover, published an *ordonnance* authorising the profession, both of the Roman Catholic and reformed religion in Béarn and Foix, though still insisting on the perfect temporal equality of the churches in the division of ecclesiastical benefices, and the possession of the cathedrals for the purposes of worship. The queen forwarded this edict to the bishop of Lescar, and required his co-operation for its due execution. The bishop refused to countenance the decree; and sternly demanded that the sacred vessels, and the ornaments of the churches, confiscated by the mandate of the queen, should be restored, and especially the treasures appertaining to the cathedral of Lescar. The queen made a characteristic response to this demand by commanding a public sale of the greater part of the treasures confiscated; the remaining portion, chiefly consisting of vessels of silver and gold plate, was conveyed to the mint, and forthwith coined into money. Her next proceeding was to direct by letters-patent the seizure of the temporalities of the bishopric of Lescar; and the appropriation of all churches and chapels deserted by the priesthood within that diocese. The queen committed the execution of her mandate to two counsellors of la Chambre des Comptes, named Tissuis and Coulomme.¹

After the queen had satisfactorily arranged these

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret, t. II.

important affairs, she permitted herself some relaxation from politics. It was at this season that she celebrated the marriage of the count de Guiche, eldest son of her faithful subject and friend, de Grammont, with the beautiful Corisande d'Andouins, the richest heiress of her principality, and a lady who brought her husband a revenue of 25,000 livres Tournois.¹

The queen, during this season of comparative leisure, established rules for the education of her son, whom she caused to be thoroughly examined in his religious belief, and confirmed in the tenets of the reformed church, by the most learned doctors. She appointed as his perceptor, Florent Chrestien, a man well versed in literature and poetry, and a devoted adherent of Calvinism. To madame Catherine, her youthful daughter, the queen gave as a perceptor, the sieur de la Roche, son of the learned professor Macrin. She likewise confirmed madame de Thignonville, in her office of governess, and principal lady of honour to the princess. Hitherto, the queen had exercised little influence over the education of her son ; as Henry, while resident at the court of France, shared the studies of the king, and his mother's inclination had been only consulted so far as they coincided with Catherine's designs. When he returned to his mother's guardianship, at the age of thirteen, Henry was proficient in the gallant accomplishments of the day. He rode well, danced, wrestled, and was thoroughly

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre.

initiated in the bearing and deportment of the brilliant cavalier. His taste for poetry was cultivated ; by Catherine's command, the young prince had been well versed in the French, Spanish, and Italian languages. The queen of Navarre, however, prepared to correct the defects which she discerned in the system of her son's past education. By her desire, the prince commenced in good earnest a diligent study of the Greek and Latin tongues ; the chivalrous lays and *novelettes* of France and Spain, in which the young Henry delighted, were exchanged for books of history, politics, and religion. To demonstrate to her son that the reality of war was other than the mimic warfare exhibited by the tourney, Jeanne confided the prince to the care of her sénéchal of Béarn, and sent him to aid in suppressing a second insurrectionary movement of the town of Oléron. The queen, moreover, strictly interdicted all games of chance, such as dice, cards, and billiards ; she also established regulations for the deportment of her ladies of honour, when in the presence of the prince ; and she discouraged to the utmost of her power, any social intercourse between her son, and the fair damsels in her train. Probably, the strict etiquette of his mother's court would have speedily proved intolerable to the gay and gallant prince, had not the incidents of the impending war roused in Henry that great and martial spirit which Catherine had in vain essayed to quell.

The queen of Navarre, about this period, rendered

essential service to her husband's son by mademoiselle de Rouet. Jeanne had great magnanimity of spirit; and from the day that the grave closed over the remains of her husband, once so fondly loved, all cause of offence between them was forgotten, and every person or thing which Antoine had cared for, was regarded by Jeanne with reverence. The reversion of the bishopric of Comminges had been promised to king Antoine for his son; the see becoming vacant, Catherine de Medici, forgetful of her former engagement, nominated to the benefice, the bastard son of the baron de Lansac, the latter being one of the most able diplomatists of the day, and queen Catherine's devoted adherent. Jeanne, willing always to aid the oppressed, undertook to write to king Charles on the subject, and to remind his majesty of the promise made to the king of Navarre. Accordingly the queen wrote as follows :

QUEEN JEANNE TO CHARLES IX., KING OF FRANCE.¹

MONSEIGNEUR,

I am bound by so many *souvenirs* of the honour which was mine during the life of monseigneur, the late king, my husband, that if I did not now employ every means in my power to aid and favour those, who were dear to him, I should consider myself most culpable. Monseigneur, I

¹ Catalogue La Verdet, No. 528. Vente du 31 Janvier, 1854. The original of this curious document was sold in Paris on the above date. The author is indebted for a copy of the letter, which has never before been published, to Monsieur L. Paris.

feel assurance, therefore, that you will not take in bad part (until you shall be pleased to grant me my just request,) if I cease not to importune you for the bishopric of Comminges, the which having been bestowed upon the king my husband, as an acknowledgment of his services, he was, in his turn, pleased to give to his bastard son. I pray you, therefore, monseigneur, to consider whether it is a just act to deprive the said bastard of this bishopric, to bestow it upon the son of M. de Lansac? If it will please you, monseigneur, to compare the dignity of the fathers of these two claimants, I feel certain you will perceive that without doing us great wrong and injustice, you cannot bestow the benefice on the bastard of Lansac. I pray you very humbly, monseigneur, to remember that the observance of your promise is a thing worthy of your royal dignity. You have so many other ways of recompensing the said de Lansac, that if it pleases you, both claimants may remain satisfied.

I cannot, however, fail to inform you, monseigneur, that in defiance of the edict of pacification between your majesty and your subjects, the said bastard of Lansac has taken up arms in the diocese of Comminges, as I have been advertised by the marquis de Villars. I have requested M. de Villars to explain to you, that this violence may be the cause of sedition; to foment which, MM. de Toulouse,¹ according to their usual custom, leave nothing undone, having already commenced their practices by sending the said bastard arms, and artillery. I intreat you very humbly, monseigneur, to chastise the audacity of this said de Lansac; and to acknowlege the patience, and loyal endurance displayed by the bastard de Bourbon; if the latter were as head-strong as his competitor, he might have

¹ The members of the parliament of Toulouse.

contrived more ways to punish this insolence, than de Lansac has found means to act on his side : but, monseigneur, you will always perceive by our actions, with what sincerity we offer you service. I, therefore, again tender to you, monseigneur, my righteous petition, while praying that God may augment and pour upon you His holy favours,

Votre très humble, et très obeissante, servante et subjecte,
JEHANNE.

The queen of Navarre finally obtained her petition for her husband's illegitimate son. During the earlier years of his reign, Charles was impressed with a proper sense of the inviolability of his royal word. Upon most subjects, however, when Jeanne made one of her fearless appeals to king Charles, and to his royal mother, she seldom failed in obtaining its object ; but, while Catherine dreaded her scrutiny, the young king loved her not, who rebuked him in language so resolute and uncompromising.

Jeanne's polemical ardour revived again at this period ; and she addressed a letter to the viscount de Gourdon, on the comparative merits of the reformed and the Romish churches, and their respective claims to be regarded as Catholic and orthodox. The queen expresses her opinions with great violence, throughout this strange epistle. The controversy absorbed every faculty of Jeanne's mind. She lived immersed in discussion : the time that she could spare from politics, was spent by her in drawing up expositions of her faith, or in debates on the disputed points

with the Romish prelates of her principality. Doubtless, her influence over the Reformed Churches of continental Europe was almost despotic; she inherited the ready pen of her ancestors of the house of Angoulême; and her dissertations on the controversial points which agitated the churches, and the irony of her style, produced more permanent impression than the turgid compositions of de Bèze and his colleagues. A true descendant of Louise de Savoy, Jeanne's impracticable courage bore her triumphant over obstacles often most formidable; while that ability cannot be too highly appreciated, situated as the queen of Navarre was—her territory surrounded by hostile courts, and agitated by factions—which yet perseveringly pursued the policy that had caused her to incur the ban of all neighbouring princes. On the duty which she owed to her subjects, the queen expresses herself thus, in her epistle to de Gourdon: "I remember well, as a child (being born to queenly heritage), the exhortations and artifices which were resorted to, to induce my acceptance of the Roman faith. I was told that it was only necessary to make an outward profession of this said faith, in order to govern my subjects as slaves; when, by the Holy Testament of our Celestial Father, I learned that all earthly power proceeded from Himself, and was delegated to princes, that they might maintain justice, and succour the fatherless, widows, and orphans, and protect them against evil and malignant men. Power is not given to me, to

pamper and indulge my worldly pride, avarice, and vanity, at the expense of the blood of my brethren in the flesh, although they be my subjects in this lower world." In another part of her letter, Jeanne says, "I pray you, tell me in what part of the Holy Scripture it is written, that the pope may usurp the attributes and office of our Lord Jesus Christ? or that he may, at the promptings of avarice, open Heaven, close the gates of Hell, quench the fires of Purgatory, bind the devils, and exalt his own sceptre above the thrones of angels, principalities, and of all the hosts of heaven; that he may decide upon the œcumenicality of councils, and grant indulgences of a thousand years for the commission of any crime whatever? The Church has not maintained her pristine innocence and vigour—her purity, and holiness of doctrine and practice: she has exchanged the spiritual for the carnal; her roses are become thistles; her healing balms, as venomous banes; her charity is nought but chilling vanity; her priests and bishops, who ought to be like Timotheus, chaste, sober, humble, hospitable, watching night and day to cherish the holy fire which glows in the bosom of every true priest of God, have defiled themselves, and have become abominable, by their avarice and most unholy sloth."¹ In such like strains queen Jeanne continues, through an admirably written

¹ Lettre de la royne de Navarre au vicomte de Gourdon.—MS. Bibl. Roy. Vallant.—Portef. 1er. f. 295, dated de Pau, 12 Juillet.—Inedited.

letter of several pages—eloquent in its fervour; but stern and defiant in its denunciation of heresy. The virulence of the hate with which Jeanne was regarded by the adherents of Rome, may be divined, when such statements of her sentiments were not confined to the letters addressed to her personal friends, but were launched by her in the shape of manifestoes, and dispersed by hundreds over France, Germany, and the Low Countries.

About the end of august, 1567, the queen quitted Pau, to visit her county of Foix, accompanied by the prince of Béarn, and by a numerous suite. She was sojourning at St. Gaudens, when she received an express from Condé, and the admiral de Châtillon, announcing that the Huguenots had again taken up arms; that fifty towns in France already acknowledged their authority; and that by the merest accident the king and his brother had escaped capture, while sojourning at Catherine's palace of Monceaux in Brie. This important intelligence induced the queen to return without delay to her capital: she, therefore, delegated authority to the seigneur de Rabat to convoke the states of Foix at Vrilles, over which assembly Jeanne had intended personally to preside, in the hope of finding the members in more tractable humour, when separated from their turbulent colleagues of Lower Navarre.

“M. de Montluc,” wrote the queen to Catherine's lieutenant, “as I was on my road for the county of Foix, there to hold the states, and to visit my

subjects there under the suzerainty of the king, my sovereign lord, I heard, when at St. Gaudens, that in various parts of the realm there were assemblies of the disaffected in arms, for which reason I have resolved to return to Pau. I am now on my way thither, being firmly resolved still to hold, and maintain my countries and subjects in that peace and tranquillity, which, by the grace of God, I have hitherto been enabled to do, despite the troubles that have prevailed around me: being, likewise, firmly minded to spare nothing in my power to render his majesty service.”¹

The impression produced by Catherine's interview at Bayonne with the queen of Spain and the duke of Alba, acted fatally on the peace of the kingdom. The intimate political relations into which she had entered with her son-in-law, and the Spanish cabinet, were regarded with dread and distrust. Letters had even been intercepted, and placed in the hands of the queen of Navarre, proving the fact that the French government coincided with the political projects entertained by Philip of Spain. The cardinal de Lorraine again dominated in the cabinet; and the counsels of the enlightened chancellor de l'Hôpital were negatived with angry vehemence by the princes of Guise at the council-board, in the presence of the sovereign. The belief received fresh affirmation

¹ Archives Espagnoles de Simancas, K. 1393. No. 200.—Inedited—Lettre de madame de Vendome à Montluc.—The letter is dated, Tarbès, ce 3 d'Octobre, 1567.

every day, that some *coup d'état* was meditated, to rid the state of the Huguenots : sometimes, it was rumoured that this was to be effected by a massacre ; at others, by a proscription, like that which Philip had issued against the unfortunate Moorish population of Spain. The fact, however, which completed the exasperation of the Huguenots, and led them to reject all further trust in the professions of Catherine, was, that notwithstanding the known amicable understanding existing between the courts of France and Spain, the queen had taken the pretext, afforded by the passage of the duke of Alba through Franche Comté at the head of an army to chastise the revolt of the Flemish rebels, to levy a body of six thousand Swiss mercenaries. The funds requisite for this levy, were, moreover, raised by Catherine with the utmost secrecy from certain rich merchants of Lyons ; and the negotiation was concealed from the majority of the council.¹ The Huguenots, therefore, assembled at Châtillon, to discuss hostile measures, tending to remove the cardinal de Lorraine from the ministry, and to establish Condé at the head of the government. It was resolved, in the first place, to attempt a surprise of the court at Monceaux : the expedition was, therefore, organized and led by the admiral in person, on the 28th day of September, 1567.² Simultaneously, a general rising of the Huguenot

¹ Mathieu, Hist. du règne de Charles IX. liv. 5. p. 288.

² Mémoires du duc de Bouillon. Mém. de Castelnau, liv. 4.—De Thou.

population took place throughout France: on the preceding day, outward tranquillity reigned everywhere—within the next twenty-four hours, the king had fled from Meaux to Paris; public order was annihilated; half of the population of France had recourse to arms; and the sound of the tocsin echoed through the large and opulent cities of the kingdom, rousing the murderous passions of the multitude to slaughter and pillage.¹

The admiral de Coligny, failing in his design of seizing the person of the king, followed his sovereign to Paris, and encamped his army on the plains of St. Denis, from whence he menaced the capital. The king's escape was entirely owing to the fidelity manifested by his Swiss guard; and the bravery displayed by the officers of his personal suite. On the arrival of the court in Paris, the constable de Montmorency was nominated to command the army destined to repulse the advance of the Huguenots upon Paris.

The queen of Navarre, during these events, entered her capital, from whence she observed, with the greatest solicitude, the progress of the war. Jeanne, took no active share in this second religious contest, beyond granting to certain of her subjects of Béarn, permission to enrol themselves in the army of Condé. The disaffected in her principality, however, seized the opportunity to renew their traitorous cabals. The inhabitants of Oléron, especially, manifested dis-

¹ Journal de Brulart, p. 170. Mém. du maréchal de Tavannes, chap. xx.

affection. The queen, therefore, sent her son, with a gallant train of nobles, to expostulate with the citizens, and to persuade them to return to their allegiance. The frank and vivacious bearing of the young Henry captivated the populace of Oléron: and when he addressed them, and declared that the queen, his mother, desired not to force their consciences, but required only the loyal obedience which subjects owed to their sovereign, their enthusiasm was unbounded. They assured the prince that they would from henceforth live and die the faithful subjects of queen Jeanne; and they accused the turbulent Basque nobles of fomenting revolt by the calumnious reports which they propagated, to the detriment of the queen their mistress.

The baron de Luxe and his colleagues persevered, nevertheless, in their treasonable designs. At the head of a body of armed brigands, the baron seized the castle of Garris in Lower Navarre, a fortress situated on the frontiers of Spain. Jeanne despatched her son with de Grammont and d'Arros to retake this important place, and to put the insurgent forces to the rout. This was the first military expedition undertaken by Henri le Grand. On the approach of the prince, de Luxe escaped from Garris with the greater number of his officers, and took refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains. The fortress surrendered on the first summons; and Henry triumphantly despatched the remaining members of the garrison as prisoners of war to Pau. Moneins, de Luxe, Ste.

Colombe, and other of the principal leaders of the insurrection refused to avail themselves of the amnesty immediately published by the queen, on condition that they laid down arms, and submitted to her mercy. Protected by the king of Spain, they found refuge in some of the towns on the Spanish frontier, where their turbulent demonstrations at the head of bands of lawless marauders, occasioned serious solicitude to the queen throughout the duration of the civil war in France.¹ The persistence of these rebel subjects of Navarre in their treason, was afterwards discovered to have been encouraged by Catherine de Medici, and by the king of Spain; who both dreaded lest Jeanne should actively espouse the party of Condé, and so infuse into the Protestant councils her own vigour and steadiness of design.

The shafts of scandal, meantime, spared not even the reputation of the austere Jeanne. Surrounded by ministers of the reformed churches, and by theologians of every grade and persuasion, the queen led a secluded life, at her castle of Pau; seldom showing herself in public, except when she attended daily prayers in the cathedral. Amongst her gentlemen-in-waiting was one Goyon, a man zealous in religious matters, and possessed of great mental ability. His devotion to his royal mistress was remarkable; but so little discretion did he manifest in its avowal, that soon it became rumoured abroad, that the queen had bestowed her hand upon him, in a kind of morganatic

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre.

alliance, sanctioned by her ministers of the Calvinist persuasion. The queen's enemies, moreover, insinuated that Jeanne had borne this Goyon a son, who, immediately after his birth, was sent, as they asserted, into Holland. The story, at the time, obtained many believers; and some years after the queen's decease, a Protestant minister at the Hague, named Goyon, declared himself to be the grandson of this princess—a claim acquiesced in by many credulous persons. It is almost needless to add, that the story is not confirmed by evidence of any description; nor by the historians of the day. It is recorded by Bayle, as one of the traditions of the times, and is transcribed by him as such. The individual named Goyon is never mentioned in history in conjunction with Jeanne d'Albret; nor, is his name even enrolled amongst the officers of her household.

The queen quitted Pau, in the month of March, 1568, for St. Palais, in Lower Navarre, at which place she had convoked the states. She there again solemnly confirmed her act of amnesty, excepting only the rebel nobles who still contumaciously defied her authority; and two persons captured at Garris, and condemned by the Chancellerie de Navarre to expiate their treason on the scaffold. While the queen sojourned at St. Palais, the news reached her of the peace concluded between Condé and the court, at Chartres. In the battle field, the arms of Charles IX. had again nominally triumphed. Condé and the admiral de Coligny were repulsed from before Paris;

but the victory of St. Denis was purchased after a bloody struggle, in which the veteran constable de Montmorency fell, assassinated by Stuart, a Scotch trooper. The Huguenot forces, nevertheless, held possession of the adjacent country for upwards of five days after their defeat, and then retired in battle-array, upon Montereau, on their march to form a junction with Jean Casimir, son of the Elector Palatine, who was advancing at the head of a body of six thousand horse to their aid. So valiant had been the deportment of the Huguenots, that the envoy of the Sultan, watching the muster of the army from the walls of Paris at the close of the action, exclaimed, "Would that my master had only six thousand horsemen like those men of the white great-coats, and he would soon be lord of Europe!"

On the news of the check received by the Huguenot army at St. Denis, the most menacing demonstrations ensued in the south of France. The Protestant population of Languedoc Foix, and Béarn, led by the seven valiant Viscounts of the South,¹ rose to arms. Orleans, Bourges, la Rochelle, Auxerre, Blois, and Charité sur Loire, opened their gates and received Huguenot garrisons. Succours of men and money were promised to Condé, for the prosecution of the

¹ The names of these valiant noblemen, distinguished in the history of these troublous times as the seven Viscounts of the South, were, de Comminges, viscount de Borniquel, Bertrand de Rabesteins, viscount de Montclar, the viscounts de Caumont, de Gourdon, de Montamat, de Rapin, and the viscount de Paulin.

war, by the queen of England, the duke of Saxony, and the marquis of Brandenburg. Catherine trembled lest the sceptre should, at length, be snatched from her grasp. In her dismay, she despatched envoys to the principal Roman Catholic courts of Europe, to ask succours for the defence of her son's crown, menaced by the insurgent violence of Condé, and his Huguenots. She sent La Suse with a message to the king of Spain; Annibal Rucellai, by the queen's command, proceeded to Italy; while, to Castelnau was intrusted the most important of these negotiations—that of communicating with the duke of Alba, and requesting that a detachment of the Spanish army might pass the Flemish frontiers, for the support of the royal authority.¹ Castelnau, accordingly, proceeded to Brussels, and was admitted to several conferences with Alba. The duke offered to march at the head of the entire Spanish army, under his command, and subdue and punish the insurrection. He expressed his deep sorrow to learn that their most Christian majesties had been besieged in their capital by “their rebel Lutheran subjects, whom the king must destroy, root and branch, and utterly exterminate.” As Castelnau had not power to accept the offer made by the duke, which would virtually have placed France under the sceptre of Philip II., the duke of Alba declined to sanction the advance of a division of Spanish troops over the fortress; assuring Castelnau, however, that whenever their majesties

¹ Davila, liv. 4. p. 253.

should need his personal services, he was ready to place himself and his army at their devotion.¹

If compelled to make a choice between evils of such magnitude, Catherine preferred *la prédiche*, with Condé for her coadjutor in the government, rather than the iron despotism of Philip of Spain. From this consideration alone resulted the peace of Chartres, or of Longjumeaux, as it is sometimes termed. Condé and his army proceeded from Montereau to Châlons-sur-Saône, and from thence into Lorraine, where he was joined by prince John Casimir,² and the German levies. Thus reinforced, the prince had laid siege to the city of Chartres. As a counterpoise to this important move on the part of Condé, Catherine despatched Castelnau into Germany, to request the advance of duke John of Saxony,³ with five thousand horse, to check the march of the Huguenots upon Paris. She, moreover, accepted the sum of four hundred thousand livres as a voluntary gift from the citizens of Paris. The clergy, likewise, presented the king with two hundred and fifty thousand crowns for the prosecution of the war.

Catherine's financial difficulties, however, being augmented by the enlistment of these German mercenaries, and as the merchants of the capital excused themselves from furnishing her majesty with a loan,

¹ Mém. de Michel de Castelnau, chap. 6.

² Second son of the Elector Palatine Frederic III.

³ Second son of Jean Frederic the Great, elector of Saxony, deposed by Charles V. The dukes of Saxe-Weimar are the lineal descendants of duke John of Saxony.

the queen resorted to the extreme measure of commanding the seizure, in the king's name, of the sum of sixty thousand pistoles, appertaining to one of these aforesaid recusant traders, which sum he was about to convert into Flemish bonds, and transfer to the Low Countries. The queen, likewise, despatched Charles de Gontaut, seigneur de Biron, and Henri de Mesme, seigneur de Mal-Assise, to treat for peace with Condé, and the Huguenot leaders. Catherine perceived no other alternative, other than this mortifying concession, to preserve her son's realm from destruction. The kingdom was inundated with foreign legions, whose lawless rapacity defied restraint : over all, loomed the threatening hosts of the Catholic king, ready to traverse France, and exact submission to the Hapsburg both from the sovereign and his seditious people. The confederacy of the French and German Protestant princes once dissolved, the moral power vested in the successor of St. Louis, and the strength to be hereafter derived from alliances as yet only projected, would avenge the present humiliations of the throne, and annihilate that powerful faction, which had dared to dictate to its sovereign. More and more vividly, however, did the ominous words uttered by the duke of Alba, at Bayonne, impress themselves on the heart of Catherine.

The peace, therefore, was signed on the 2nd of March, 1568. The edict in favour of the Protestants, given after the peace of Orleans, March, 1563, was published anew ; and all subsequent decrees con-

trary to its letter, and to the spirit of its enactments were repealed. The king, moreover, took upon himself the payment and dismissal of the German reiters, and duke John Casimir—the equivalent for these concessions, on the part of the crown, being the restoration of the places captured by Condé and his Huguenots. La Rochelle, and several other towns, refused to accept the conditions of peace; believing them to be offered in order to dissolve the formidable coalition of the Protestant powers, against which Catherine found herself wholly unprepared to contend.

The viscount Caumont de La Force brought the news of the pacification into Foix and Béarn. He caused the royal edict to be published, and required the inhabitants of Lower Navarre and Foix to accept its enactments, and to reconcile themselves to their countrymen of the reformed religion. The insurgent nobles, meantime, still sought the refuge of the Pyrenean fastnesses. De Luxe, who possessed some influence with Catherine de Medici, applied to her, after the ratification of the peace of Chartres, to make intercession, in their behalf, to queen Jeanne. Catherine, accordingly, despatched La Mothe Fénélon¹ to pray the queen to show clemency towards the rebels, and, once more, to offer the amnesty which

¹ Bertrand de Salignac, seigneur de la Mothe Fénélon. Fénélon was one of the most sagacious and able diplomatists of the age. He was for long ambassador at the court of queen Elizabeth, who highly esteemed his moral worth and eminent abilities.

they had hitherto disdained. Fénelon found the queen at Orthez: Jeanne received the ambassador with calm dignity, being well aware that de Luxe and his colleagues had so long maintained their factious defiance only in obedience to the mandates of the French court. She, therefore, replied, "that she had never other intent than to vindicate her sovereign rights, and to teach her subjects the duty they owed to their queen. If, therefore, the rebel barons wished to obtain the pardon they had before contumaciously rejected, they must personally implore her clemency." The fidelity with which Jeanne adhered to her word, was universally appreciated by all her subjects: the outlawed nobles, therefore, no sooner heard from Fénelon the queen's reply to his application, than they fearlessly quitted their places of refuge, and surrendering themselves to Jeanne's officers, were conducted to Pau. The queen granted them immediate audience. They entered her presence-chamber, where she sate under a canopy of state, attended by her ladies, her officers of state, and by king Charles's ambassador. The baron de Luxe, Monneins, the viscount de Damesan, d'Eschaux, and others, then humbly knelt, and besought the gracious pardon of their liege-lady for their late revolt. Jeanne received their prayer with stern severity; for she could not forget the calamities occasioned by their treasonable league. "Messieurs," said she, addressing the suppliant cavaliers, "bad subjects like yourselves, traitors to their sovereign

and to their country, can no longer be addressed by the titles of *noblesse*: such persons as yourselves are unworthy of honour, for you are traitors whose crimes scarcely admit of expiation in the sight of God, or in that of man. Nevertheless, He, who orders all things according to His holy pleasure, to enhance His glory, having rescued me from past dangers, He teaches me to exercise clemency, even in respect to such as yourselves, who have now assured me of your repentance for the past, and of your desire (penetrated by a just horror of your crimes) to live, from henceforth, so blameless a life, that the very memory of your late detestable conspiracy may be effaced from the mind of man. Go, messieurs; I forgive the past, in consideration of the contrition you have so humbly expressed; and in the firm trust that the great clemency which I this day show towards you, may in time produce a result worthy of faithful and loyal subjects. May God grant this my prayer!"¹

The barons then kissed the hand extended towards them by the queen, and quitted the presence. De Luxe retired to his castle in the county of Foix, where any unpleasant reminiscences of the rebuke, administered by his offended sovereign, was effaced in joy at his decoration with the grand collar of St. Michael, which Charles IX. sent in acknowledgment of the baron's services in finding employment for the queen of Navarre within her own dominions.

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, p. 573.—De Thou.

during the recent war; though his majesty had made public admission of the heinous nature of the revolt.¹

After having thus so justly excited the indignation of the queen, Catherine again despatched La Mothe Fénelon to the court of Béarn, to persuade Jeanne to visit France, or to send her son thither. At the desire of his royal mistress, Fénelon had recourse to every device of diplomacy to obtain her object. He represented to Jeanne the unsettled condition of affairs, and urged her to proceed to the court, on the ground that the Protestant party would acquire confidence by witnessing her fearless trust in the promises of Catherine; while he asserted his belief that Jeanne, alone, could negotiate a peace acceptable to both parties. With sagacious foresight, Jeanne avoided the snare; she had little confidence in the stability of the compact recently concluded, and, therefore, she positively declined to leave her own territories. The queen, however, drew up a project of pacification, which she despatched to the king by a gentleman of her chamber, named de la Vaupillière. In this remarkable document, Jeanne denounces the marshal de Montluc as the instigator of the horrors perpetrated in the southern provinces of the realm; and she entreats the king to recall him from his command; she informs the king of Montluc's design of garrisoning Béarn and Foix with French soldiers; and she cautiously intimates that so flagrant an

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, p. 573.—De Thou.

assault upon her sovereign rights, she was fully prepared to resist. She beseeches his majesty to tranquillize the Protestant churches of the realm by the issue of a second edict, embodying of his own free will the concessions extorted by Condé at the weapon's point before Chartres. Finally, she assured the king of her devotion to his interest; of her attachment to his person; and of her reverence for the anointed representative of St. Louis.

When queen Jeanne had despatched her missive to the king, she assembled the states-general of Foix, Bigorre, and Béarn to meet at Pau. When the queen appeared in the hall of assembly, she was greeted with acclamation, and scarcely a tearless eye was to be seen when Jeanne concluded her address. The capacity of their queen inspired a feeling of admiration in the bosom of even her most inveterate foe. "This great princess," says d'Aubigné, "was a woman only in her sex; her soul soared in flights of lofty contemplation. Her mind was mighty in comprehension of great matters; her valiant heart rose invincible before the darkest assaults of adversity."

The loyal fervour manifested by the deputies gave much satisfaction to the queen; her first measure was a daring trial—one which might again have compromised the friendly feeling manifested towards her by the representatives of the people. Before a single matter was discussed relating to the present emergencies of the principality, political and local,

the queen caused her edict of July 1566, which formerly had been so angrily rejected, to be presented for the assent of the assembly. In a few simple words, Jeanne recommended the measure as one of paramount necessity ; and, as she had done before, she intimated her inflexible resolve to obtain for it the ratification of the assembly before she permitted the members to legislate on other matters. The edict, however, instead of provoking the stormy discussion it had previously given rise to, was received and registered without further debate. The bishops of Lescar and Oléron, who before had factiously opposed most of the queen's ecclesiastical measures, now gladly sanctioned her designs, under shelter of the edict of Chartres. The bishop of Lescar even accepted a commission from the queen to translate the Gospels and Epistles into the Béarnois dialect. The queen obtained, moreover, the recognition of her ecclesiastical commission ; and the sanction of the states to various alterations which she desired to make in the mode of celebrating public worship.¹

Meantime, the projects of queen Catherine had been ripening. Her alliance with the Catholic powers of Europe, and especially with the king of Spain, was now placed on a satisfactory footing. The chancellor de l'Hopital was disgraced. The exile of this faithful servant of the state was occasioned by his general opposition to the violent designs of the cardinal de Lorraine ; the immediate cause of the

¹ Mém. de Gaspard de Tavannes.

chancellor's disgrace being, that he applauded and implored his royal master to accept the project of pacification sent by Jeanne d'Albret. The seals were given to the President de Birague, with the title of Lord Keeper. Birague was a devoted adherent of the Guises; he likewise, possessed Catherine's confidence, and had secretly negotiated for her the loan which enabled the queen to enrol the 6000 Swiss; the ostensible cause of the late infraction of peace by the Huguenots.

The enterprise of Meaux, where Coligny had nearly captured the king, made an indelible impression on Catherine's mind; and she resolved, in concert with the cardinal de Lorraine, to retaliate, and entrap the Huguenot leaders by the same subtle device. Condé was sojourning at Noyers, with his consort; the admiral de Coligny at d'Andelot's fortified castle of Tanlay; the latter was residing on the estates of his wife, in Bretagne; and the cardinal de Châtillon was sojourning, in luxurious ease, at Breslé, his country house; the queen of Navarre and the prince of Béarn were making a royal progress through the disaffected districts of the principality, accompanied by their personal attendants only. Queen Catherine took as her coadjutor in the design, only the cardinal de Lorraine; the plot, therefore, which might have been successfully executed, had it been placed under the conduct of one versed in military tactics, proved a failure in the hands of a woman, and of a churchman. The queen suddenly sent orders, to the mar-

shal de Tavannes, governor of Burgundy, to surprise Noyers, and to arrest Condé and his family ; similar directions were transmitted to the governors of the provinces where the princes of Châtillon resided. Tavannes, however, positively refused to undertake the mission, unless the measure was first authorized by an open declaration of war against the Huguenots ; or by a positive order under the sign manual of the king. De Tavannes, though the most inveterate enemy of Condé, was so moved by the disloyal project of the court, that he contrived to warn the prince of his danger. The marshal relates, in his Memoirs, the ingenious method which he took to apprise Condé of his peril, without compromising his loyal fidelity to his sovereign. The *sobriquet* given to Condé by the Romish party was "*le cerf*." Tavannes, therefore, wrote letters addressed to his friends, containing only the words, "*Le cerf est aux toiles : la chasse est préparée*." These letters he gave to several couriers, desiring them to pass on their route before Noyers. As the marshal had anticipated, one of his messengers being arrested by command of the prince, the mystic scroll was unfolded by Condé himself. The prince instantly took alarm ; and prepared to quit Noyers. During the subsequent few hours, Coligny arrived, with a train of forty gentlemen only ; having ridden with breathless speed from Tamlay, to admonish Condé of the meditated perfidy ; the admiral having received an intimation to hold himself on his guard, against the designs of the

queen, from some unknown friend at court. D'Andelot fled, in like manner, from Bretagne; while the cardinal de Châtillon escaped in disguise from Breslé to the coast of Normandy, from whence he took boat, crossed the channel, and sought refuge in England.¹

On the 25th of August, 1568, just five months after the signature of the peace of Chartres, Condé, with his consort, who was daily expecting her *accouchement*, his eldest son, and four young children, fled precipitately from Noyers, escorted by Coligny. The prince crossed the Loire opposite Sancerre. From this place, Condé despatched a messenger to the queen of Navarre, to inform her of the sinister proceedings of the court, and of his own contemplated retreat to La Rochelle. Condé's envoy found the queen at Vic, in Bigorre; he remained in close conference with her for upwards of four hours. Circumstances, moreover, had recently unfolded to the vigilant eye of the queen, a plot to seize the prince of Béarn, and restore him to the guardianship of Catherine. De Losse, captain of the royal body-guard, had been selected for the mission: he was the bearer of a warrant from Catherine to the marshal de Montluc, authorizing him to support the design; and to prevent, at any risk, the departure of Jeanne from her own territories, excepting as a prisoner under escort for Paris.

¹ De Thou, liv. 44. Mém. de Castelnau, chap. i. liv. 7. Mém. de Tavannes, chap. XXI.

The faithless policy of the court, its seeming moderation, yet vindictive intent, roused vehement anger in the bosom of the queen of Navarre. Her penetration enabled her to perceive that the fortunes of her children were involved in the fate of Condé, and his adherents; and she judged that the time was arrived when it became her duty to take an active share in the contest. The banishment of the house of Guise from the kingdom, appeared to Jeanne a measure absolutely requisite for the safety of the princes of the blood. The pacification of the kingdom was perpetually interrupted by the intrigues of these princes with foreign potentates; for the fatal compact of Péronne proved alike the bane of public and private interests. Against the promoters of that league, Jeanne determined, at length, openly to array herself. In the manifestoes which she issued about this period, the queen expressed the most devoted allegiance and respect towards the young king, whom she represented as being under the tutelage of the cardinal de Lorraine, calumniated and deceived by that prelate's mendacious statements.

Queen Jeanne, therefore, despatched a messenger to the fugitive princes assuring them of sympathy, and promising to give them the rendez-vous at no distant period in La Rochelle. Jeanne then hastily returned to Pau, and during some days she occupied herself in publishing edicts for the better government of the principality. The prince accompanied his mother everywhere; so fearful was Jeanne of being

deprived of her son. Having accomplished the purpose of her return to her capital, Jeanne took a reluctant and tearful farewell of the castle of her ancestors, and attended by a small, but chosen suite, she proceeded to Nérac. At this season, the queen's reserve was impenetrable, and she seems to have revealed her projects, and the thoughts which inspired her, to no person.

Jeanne arrived at Nérac on the first Sunday in August, 1568. The marshal de Montluc was at Cassaigne, from whence he anxiously observed the queen's movements. Her most trifling acts appear to have been reported to Catherine's unscrupulous agent. Numbers of Protestant gentlemen, daily arrived at Nérac to offer their services to the queen. She thanked them with many gracious words ; but Jeanne neither accepted nor rejected their proffered service. Montluc also sent his nephew, M. de Lébéron to compliment Jeanne on her arrival in Guyenne, with the message, that he very humbly besought her majesty to render her happy arrival beneficial for the maintenance of peace ; for he assured her that the first signal for war should not be given by the Roman Catholics. The queen replied, "that the purport of her journey to Nérac was to preserve the peace of the realm, and to put down the evil designs of all, whether of the Reformed, or of the Romish communion, who desired war. That it gave her infinite gratification to learn that M. le Maréchal was of the same will as herself respecting this matter ; and she requested that he would

inform her of all matters concerning the said question."¹ The queen added, moreover, "that she would take upon herself to command in all that related to those of the reformed churches." It is asserted by another author, that Montluc wrote at this period in a most menacing tone to the queen, threatening her with personal detention, and Béarn with invasion, if she presumed to stir from Nérac, or to sanction the most insignificant rising on the part of the Protestant population. The queen replied, "that she was the king's obedient subject, and ready to obey his majesty in all matters that did not violate her duty to her own subjects."

While the queen sojourned at Nérac, Fénelon made another effort to draw her to the court of France. As Fénelon was the queen's personal friend, and a noble of most honourable and virtuous repute, it is to be surmised that he was not aware of the sinister projects entertained by Catherine and the Guises against Jeanne d'Albret. He sincerely believed that her presence at St. Germain would smooth the difficulties in the way of final settlement to the controversy. The repute of the queen; her anxiety for peace, and, above all, the moral influence which Jeanne always exercised, led him to entertain the most sanguine hopes relative to the success of her personal mediation. "Monseigneur," replied the queen, "what trust can I repose in the promises of a court which, at the very time that it professes to treat with me, is plotting my arrest, and now would

¹ Commentaires de Blaise de Montluc, liv. 6ème.

tear my children from me ! No ; I am well informed that the proscriptions of Flanders, and merciless executions for heresy are on the point of being adopted here, according to the resolution taken at Bayonne with the duke of Alba. Our royal blood is even more interested in this measure than our Protestant faith : for the victim of these perfidious designs must be my son, the first prince of the blood. The court of France, monseigneur, is agreed with that of Spain to complete my destruction, and that of my son also. Montluc already devours in anticipation my country of Béarn ; the Spanish king is ready to seize upon Lower Navarre. Cossé, captain of his majesty's body-guard, has been deputed to arrest me, and to tear my loved children from my arms. Montluc and d'Escars are directed to afford every facility in their power to the enterprise. In this extremity, what resource is there left to my son, or to myself, except to make common cause with a noble and magnanimous prince, whose ruin is no less desired than our own ! No, monseigneur, never will we more submit our lives and our fortunes to the inconstant favour of the court."

Fénélon then represented to the queen that she was exposing her dominions to the danger of invasion, both by the French and the Spaniards ; that her son would be deprived of the crown of his ancestors, while she herself must be reduced to the condition of the most miserable princess in Europe. " Monseigneur, I deem it a sacred duty to share the perils

of my fellow-worshippers, to afford them aid, and every support in my power in a contest which has for its holy objects the cause of religion, of patriotism, of their king, and of liberty !" rejoined the queen. "This flame of civil war, when once kindled, will destroy your kingdom, madame, and the realm of France likewise," said Fénelon. The young prince of Béarn was alone present during the conference : after this last remark from Fénelon, he quickly replied, "*Bah, bah ! monseigneur, c'est un feu à éteindre avec un seau d'eau.*" The ambassador appearing puzzled at the simile, Henri laughingly rejoined, for from his boyhood he could never resist the utterance of a *bon-mot*, "*Il faut faire avaler ce seau d'eau au cardinal de Lorraine jusqu'à crever, voilà tout, monseigneur.*"¹

Finding that he could prevail nothing with the queen, Fénelon reluctantly took leave, and returned to Paris. Jeanne, meantime, had been making secret preparation for her departure from Nérac ; for she well knew that any attempt to quit the castle openly would be opposed by Montluc. She sent to desire the baron de Fontrailles, and Armand de Clermont, seigneur de Piles, both devoted adherents of her house, to gather troops, and hold themselves in readiness to protect her retreat. She likewise despatched secret missives to Montamar, one of her noted viscounts of the south, and to the viscount

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret, t. II. De Thou. Commentaires de Montluc. Favyn, Hist. de Navarre, liv. 14. p. 853.

de St. Maigrin, to levy soldiers, and to be prepared to join her standard at the shortest notice. The queen likewise wrote thus to her faithful friend, the viscount de Gourdon, to request his presence at Nérac at this period of anxiety.

JEANNE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE, TO THE VISCOUNT
DE GOURDON.

MONSIEUR LE VISCOMTE,

You are, I presume, informed, ere this, that by the grace of God, and without sloth or deceit, I have openly engaged to follow the profession of the Reformed Faith, and to peril my crown, my dominions, and my son, to insure its public exercise, and the safety of all its professors. If damage happens to your castles, and to your worldly goods, through the cruel and iniquitous edicts lately issued, fear not, for the God of Hosts will maintain His own righteous cause, and will abundantly recompense those who have fought and laboured in his service. The prince de Condé, my brother-in-law, has claimed, and obtained the aid of the princes of Germany; and the queen of England, who shares and sustains our belief, will in a short time aid me with troops and money; and not myself alone, but also all those faithful ones, who refuse to bow the knee before Bael. You, and the other viscounts, also, who like myself are firmly built up in the faith, must set an example of fortitude and resignation. The Eternal God rejects the weak and faint-hearted. The blessed hour is at hand, when those who are of Israel, must risk the loss of their worldly goods, to build temples wherein God may be adored in spirit and in truth, in bodily worship, and with the homage of the heart; but

where abominable idols are now enthroned before the mighty and the jealous God. For this purpose, at the end of the present month, I shall join the Prince at La Rochelle, with my son the prince de Béarn, who bears you esteem and love. Since he has been with me, the latter prince has made progress in the faith, and shows himself to be a lover of truth and of arms. You will find him tall for his age. I pray you hold frequent converse with him on the subjects of religion, controversy, and war, in which matters you are expert, and the prince eager. I pray God, monsieur le Viscomte, to have you in his holy keeping. Written at Nérac this 1st day of September, 1568,

Votre très bonne, et assurée amie,¹

JEHANNE.

On Sunday, September 6th, 1568, all was prepared for the queen's flight. To deceive the marshal de Montluc the more thoroughly as to her projected enterprise, Jeanne treated him with distinguished attention, and appeared to be entirely occupied with those affairs to which he directed her notice. Madame de Montluc and her children, being at Agen with the marshal, were frequently invited by the queen to Nérac. On the day fixed for her departure, the queen asked them to visit her, that the prince might run a course at the ring with de Montluc's eldest son.² All things being prepared, Jeanne and her son received the Holy Communion in the

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. Vallant, Portef. 1er.—Inedited.

² Commentaires de Blaise de Montluc, liv. 6ème.

chapel of Nérac at early dawn. She then placed herself in a litter, with the little madame Catherine, and madame de Thignonville, preceptress to the princess, and surrounded by fifty valiant gentlemen, Jeanne and her little train, before sunrise, were safe beyond the walls of Nérac.

The young prince of Béarn then assumed the command of the queen's escort. Rapidly the fugitives took the road for Castel-Jaloux. The rencontre of a single band of the lawless marauders enrolled in Montluc's army would have been disastrous to the queen and her cause. With dauntless courage, however, the troops advanced, encouraged by Jeanne's hopeful spirit and gracious words. At length, they descried the approach of a body of cavalry bearing down full upon their route. Jeanne commanded a halt. The moment was one of anxious suspense. The standard of the chief in command at length became visible ; and with a shout of exultation, the queen's gallant gentlemen-at-arms pushed towards, and soon Jeanne found herself surrounded by the company of her sénéchal of Armagnac, de Fontrailles.¹ Thus reinforced, there was no longer danger of immediate capture ; for every town and village through which they passed, gave Jeanne defenders, and augmented the ranks of her escort.

At Castel-Jaloux, the viscount de Montamar joined the queen with a regiment of infantry, consisting

¹ La Popelinière, Hist. de France, liv. 14. f. 62. Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, etc.

of ten companies. The queen refused to rest, or to suspend her journey until she had passed the river Dordogne. At Bergerac she was received by de Piles and by the viscount de St. Maigrin with a powerful reinforcement. Jeanne's escort now amounted to four hundred horse, and three thousand infantry. At the head of this gallant body of troops, the queen made her entry into Bergerac, amidst the plaudits of the inhabitants, with the intent of sojourning there until she had communicated with Condé.¹

The first intimation which the marshal de Montluc received of the flight of the queen was from one of her chamberlains, who by his mistress's command presented himself at Agen during the morning of Sunday, September 6th, to express the queen's regret that it was impossible for her to receive madame de Montluc, a satisfaction she had promised herself on that day, as pressing affairs required her presence at Castel-Jaloux, for which place she had quitted Nérac.² The marshal perceived that Jeanne had proved herself more dexterous than himself, and had escaped from his toils. Transported with fury, he transmitted orders to the captains and commandants of the various districts to intercept the queen of Navarre, and to cut off her passage into France, or her retreat into Béarn; then taking to horse himself, he pursued her with such impetuosity, that at the head of a troop of cavalry, Montluc

¹ Mém. de Castelnau, chap. I. liv. 7.

² Commentaires de Blaise de Montluc, liv. 6ème.

entered Castel-Jaloux only four hours after the queen had quitted the town.¹ D'Escars, governor of Limousin, had also received orders to occupy the country, and to prevent the queen of Navarre from passing the Garonne; and if Jeanne had quitted Nérac only a few hours later, or had d'Escars punctually fulfilled his instructions, the arrest of the queen must have been inevitable. Well might Jeanne d'Albret exclaim, when she heard of the perils which she had escaped, "*à cœur vaillant rien d'impossible !*"

During the sojourn of the queen at Bergerac, she addressed the following letter to Charles IX, in which she gives the king a clear statement of her actions, and future designs :

JEANNE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE, TO CHARLES IX.

MONSEIGNEUR,

When I received the letter which it pleased you to write and send by M. de la Mothe, I was far advanced in my present enterprise, being overwhelmed with sorrowful dismay at the late disastrous revolution in affairs. Nevertheless, it is one by which we have been menaced long; for we have noted the animosity of our enemies; their malice, monseigneur, has now extinguished the hope of tranquillity on which we relied, after the publication of your last edict of pacification. Monseigneur, this edict has not only been badly observed, but its clauses have been reversed, and its import falsified by the cardinal de Lorraine, who in defiance of the promises which you have been pleased to make to your subjects of the Reformed

¹ Commentaires du maréchal de Montluc, liv. 6ème.

Faith, by letters to your parliaments, and to others, (as I myself witness) has rendered all the enactments of your said edict null, and of no effect. The said cardinal has kept all things in suspense, and has been the cause of so many unresented massacres, that, emboldened by the patience which we have hitherto manifested at his unprincipled dealings, he has now passed the limits of our endurance, by making enterprise even against the princes of your blood, in witness of which, mark the pursuit which he has instituted against the Prince my brother. Monseigneur, this said prince has been compelled to seek succour and refuge amongst his kindred: so that myself and my son, being so nearly allied to him, find ourselves constrained to afford him that aid which the ties of blood and of friendship exact. We are well convinced of your gracious will: you have so often assured us both by word of mouth, and in writing that you desire from us only the service, fidelity and obedience which we owe towards your majesty, and in which we will not fail for any advantage that the world can offer. Monseigneur, we know that your goodness and benignant feelings would compel you to preserve our lives and fortunes, rather than to compass our ruin. Therefore, when we see such enterprises concerted against us, knowing that you are a monarch most faithful and veracious, and have promised us the contrary, we can arrive at no other conclusion, but that we are persecuted despite your royal will and intent, by the malicious enmity of the cardinal de Lorraine, whose hatred we have so often experienced: I repeat, that we have ample reasons for judging thus. I pray you, therefore, monseigneur, to take in good part, and let it not excite your royal displeasure that I have departed with my son from my dominions, in the firm intent of serving my God, yourself, my king and sovereign, and in succouring my kin-

dred ; and, in concert with the latter, of opposing myself, as long as life and fortune lasts, to the shameless enterprises and malice of our enemies. I entreat you, moreover, monseigneur, to believe that we have taken up arms for three things alone ; first, to hinder our enemies from exterminating us, our children, and our friends, as they maliciously design ; secondly, to fight for your honour and service ; thirdly, to defend and protect the princes of our blood from the murderous violence of some about your person. Monseigneur, in regard to myself personally, the said cardinal did great wrong, when he wished to commit so gross an outrage, and hide it under the cloak of your royal power and authority, as to steal away my son from my protection, to conduct him to you, as if your simple command would not have proved effectual both with myself and the prince. Monseigneur, I very humbly entreat you to believe, that we are your devoted servants ; and that our fidelity and loyal obedience, more than equals the duplicity and want of faith manifested by the said cardinal and his accomplices. I assure your majesty, that when it will please you to make the trial, you will find more truth in my deeds than in his words, as the gentleman, whom I send to your majesties, will further explain. Monsieur de la Mothe, also, departs satisfied with the blameless nature of my intentions, the which will never falter. We shall continue to devote our lives, and our worldly substance for your glory, and the prosperity of your reign ; which Monseigneur, I pray God to render eminent by His benedictions, and to grant you a long and happy life. From Bergerac, this 16th day of September, 1568.

Your very humble, and very obedient subject, and aunt,

JEHANNE.¹

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, p. 576.

Jeanne wrote, also, during her abode at Bergerac to queen Catherine, to the duke d'Anjou, the brother of the king, who had just been appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and as such was invested with the command of the army preparing to encounter the prince de Condé, and to the cardinal de Bourbon. When addressing that weak and cowardly prince, Jeanne attempts not to conceal her sentiments of indignation and contempt. She reproaches him with his degrading subserviency to the house of Lorraine; and she reminds him of the terror and affright which he experienced, when during the dangerous illness of queen Catherine, it was supposed that the cardinal de Lorraine had conspired to assassinate all the princes of Bourbon, the marshal de Montmorency, and the chancellor de l'Hôpital, in order to maintain his contested pre-eminence in the council, in case of Catherine's decease.

“Until when will you remain the slave of the cardinal de Lorraine?” asks the heroic Jeanne in her letter to her brother-in-law. “Have you already forgotten his design upon your life? Do you remember no longer the disquietude he occasioned you, and which for long prevented your eyes from slumber? The false oath which this cardinal has sworn before you, seems to have dissipated your fears; you have chosen rather to believe the treacherous protestations of that knavish prelate, than to save your race from destruction, or to ward from

your House the peril that menaces it ! My brother, show to the world, and to France, that you resent the injuries inflicted on your kindred ; prove that you share the indignation which animates my noble son, which glows in my own bosom, I who have adopted the interests of your House, as my own. Let us both serve the king ; you, according to your own holy and peaceful calling—I, according to the duties of my sex, and my royal dignity. We may not sheath the sword ; nevertheless, let us both labour to accomplish the same mighty work—that of negotiating a peace—not merely a temporary suspension of arms—but solid and irrevocable peace.¹ To the queen, Jeanne wrote not less forcibly. She implored her to stay the effusion of blood, and to grant permanent peace to the suffering and persecuted Protestants. She briefly alludes to the cruel treatment she had herself experienced from the court, during the life of her husband. She protests before God her willingness to pardon all injuries inflicted upon herself personally, and to combine with Catherine for the restoration of concord.

Jeanne confided these letters to a gentleman of her chamber, to convey to Paris, giving him express directions to deliver them to Fénelon, that the latter might present the missives to the royal personages whom she had so eloquently admonished, in the hope that that prudent and subtle diplomatist would sup-

¹ De Thou, Hist. de son Temps, liv. 44.

port their prayer. The most violent irritation against the Huguenots, unfortunately, agitated the mind of Catherine at this period : careless of everything, but of retaliating their defiance, the queen rejected the more moderate counsels of the men who would have preserved the kingdom from the calamities of war, forgetting that her own unprovoked aggression had again driven Condé to revolt. The cardinal de Lorraine, execrated by the French Protestants, and foreseeing that the recognition of their faith must inevitably be followed by his exile and disgrace, inflamed the resentment of the young king, and the more bigoted members of the council, by his specious harangues. The prayer of the queen of Navarre was, therefore, rejected ; and the remonstrances presented to Catherine, and signed by Condé and Coligny, were cast aside with words of insolent derision. Tavannes, and the duke de Montpensier, were ordered to pursue Condé to the banks of the Garonne ; to incite the Romish population to massacre the Protestants ; and to lead as prisoners to Paris, the queen of Navarre, her son, Condé, and all the leaders of the Huguenots. On the 28th day of September, about two days after the receipt of the missives sent by queen Jeanne, the king issued an edict, which was ratified on the day of its publication by the parliament, interdicting the exercise of the reformed religion throughout France. The edict forbade the private, as well as the public profession of any doctrine contrary to the religion dominant throughout the

realm ; it decreed capital pains and penalties to any sectarian minister found resident in the kingdom, fifteen days after the promulgation of the edict. All Huguenot officers in the service of the state, were dismissed from their posts ; and it was provided that, for the future, any individual nominated to any public employ, should previously swear to live and die in the profession of the Romish Faith ; or, in case of defection therefrom, to consent to be summarily deprived, without form or process, of his several offices and dignities.¹ This edict raised the fury of the Huguenot population to such a degree, that even queen Jeanne avowed herself powerless to check its lawless manifestations. Catherine had rendered herself doubly odious by despatching, a few weeks previously, letters-patent, countersigned by the cardinal de Lorraine, offering the protection of the king, to his majesty's Protestant and Romish subjects, without favour or partiality, provided that the inhabitants of Guyenne, Languedoc, Béarn and Foix, refrained from taking up arms.² This offer was received with distrust, and rejected by all ; it deceived no one, so universally were the cardinal's perfidious designs appreciated. As either the axe of the executioner, or the sword of the warrior, seemed destined to gleam over every head, the battle-field, as the lesser evil, was the alternative accepted.

To inaugurate this edict of woe and carnage, king

¹ Journal de Brulart.

² Mezeray, *Abbrégé Chron. Vie de Charles IX.*

Charles commanded a solemn procession from the Sainte Chapelle to the church of Nôtre Dame. The cardinal de Lorraine, arrayed *in pontificalibus*, carried the Host, his feet and head uncovered. The shrines of Ste. Geneviève, and of St. Marceau, were, moreover, borne in procession. The king followed the Host, on horseback, as the condition of his health prevented him from walking. He was preceded by his two brothers, bearing his crown and sceptre. Queen Catherine, attended by a numerous train of ladies, the cardinals, and princes of the blood, followed walking, each personage bearing a torch of wax. The court of parliament, the members wearing their scarlet robes, closed the procession.¹

During the residence of the queen of Navarre at Bergerac, she received intelligence of the capture of the town of Mazères, in the county of Foix, by the viscount de Caumont. Attended by Fontrailles, Piles, Montamar, St. Maigrin, and a suite of brave officers, Jeanne quitted Bergerac, after a sojourn there of four days, and repaired to Mucidan in Perigord. She was there received by Briquemaud, at the head of five hundred lances. Leaving Aubeterre and Barbesieux on her left, the queen entered Archiac, escorted by her brave army, which now mustered nearly four thousand men, in the presence of d'Escars, governor of Perigord and Limousin, who had been sent by the duke de Montpensier to arrest her progress. Not a single accident happened to interrupt the queen's admirably

¹ Brulart.

contrived evasion from Nérac; not one of her measures failed. Her escorts awaited her punctually, at the moment indicated; the devotion and energy of her officers supplied every deficiency. The people received her with homage, as a queen; and with admiration, as a heroine.

The town of Archiac having been chosen, by the queen, for her meeting with Condé, and the principal Huguenot chieftains, Jeanne made a sojourn of a few days there. During this interval, Montluc essayed again to propitiate the queen, and to tempt her from the safe protection of her loyal troops, by delusive offers of peace. "Tell him," responded Jeanne d'Albret, "that I, also, even now, seek to restore union and concord throughout the realm. Do not my actions prove this fact to his satisfaction?"

Condé, meantime, after his flight from Noyers, crossed the Loire at Bonny, near to Sancerre, just in time to escape the troop of horse sent in pursuit by Tavannes. As the last of the fugitives passed the river, Tavannes's cavalry appeared on the opposite bank, at St. Godon. "It touched the hearts of all with sincere commiseration, to witness the lamentable plight in which the first prince of the blood travelled," says the historian Mathieu. "The heat of the weather was intense: the princess, being pregnant, travelled in a litter; the prince had three little children in the cradle; besides which, he was accompanied by the admiral and his family; by

d'Andelot, with his wife; there being, altogether, a great number of children and nurses. Their escort consisted only of 150 men; their only consolation being, that one day the memory of this their present misery, would be sweet, as their resentment was strong and vehement." The prince continued his march with the utmost celerity: and entered La Rochelle on the 18th of September, having, by the exercise of the most sagacious foresight, escaped the numerous detachments sent out by Montluc and de Vieilleville, to intercept his route. Probably, had the flight of Jeanne d'Albret and Condé been less precipitate, they could not have evaded capture; the premature revelation, by Catherine, of the plot for their arrest, took Charles's officers by surprise; so that, whilst they deliberated on the measures expedient to be pursued, the fugitives escaped. Tavannes, in his memoirs, speaks very scornfully of the imperfect organization of this design, which he calls, "*dressée de quenouille et de plume*," by the queen and the cardinal de Lorraine.

As soon as Condé received news of Jeanne's arrival at Archiac, he quitted La Rochelle to meet and escort the queen thither. At the head of a gallant body of troops, he first stormed the town of Cognac, which had refused to open its gates; and, triumphantly, passing thence, he arrived at Archiac. attended by the *élite* of the Huguenot *noblesse*, Great must have been queen Jeanne's exultation, as she gazed upon the valiant throng, kneeling to offer,

her homage. Montgomery, Gourdon, La Noue, d'Andelot, Barbesieux, Montamar, Coligny, le Vidame de Chartres, Fontrailles, Pardaillan, and her valiant viscounts of the south, whose almost fabulous exploits were recorded in ballads and Provençal lays, all rallied round the standard of Béarn. The princely bearing of her son, and his aptitude for military exercises, likewise, gave singular pleasure to the queen. The young son of Condé appeared also to have inherited his father's genius, with other qualities worthy of his illustrious ancestry.

As queen Jeanne was gifted with excellent powers of speech, she frequently harangued the assembled warriors and nobles. In all matters, the queen seems to have taken the lead; and often did she rouse the martial ardour of that assemblage, by recapitulating all that she had suffered from the artifices of the French court. The intrigues to separate her from her husband; the arrest of Condé; his condemnation to death on the scaffold—a doom he escaped by the premature decease of Francis II. only; the plots of the courts of Rome and Spain; the project of delivering her to the Inquisition, were all skilfully dwelt upon by the queen. “The half of the crown of Charles rests on the brow of our adversary. Shall we, therefore, withhold the salutary shock which may restore it entire to its anointed possessor,?” exclaimed queen Jeanne, in one of the harangues pronounced by her before the confederate princes.

On the 28th day of September, 1568, the

queen of Navarre made her entry, on horseback, into the town of La Rochelle, escorted by Condé. The prince of Béarn rode by the side of his royal mother, and Condé at the left hand of the queen. Her reception was one of extraordinary solemnity. The mayor and the authorities met the queen, and presented her with the keys of the town; and on her entry into La Rochelle, Jeanne was received by a cavalcade of ladies, headed by Madame d'Andelot, in the absence of the princess de Condé, who was too indisposed to bear the fatigue of the ceremonial. With royal honours, and in the midst of the acclamations of the people, the queen of Navarre was conducted to the Hôtel de Ville, where lodgings had been provided for herself, and her train, by the Rochellois.

CHAPTER III.

Queen Jeanne grants audience to the municipality of La Rochelle—Speech of prince Henry—His popularity—Anecdote of the young prince—Fac-simile of his handwriting—Jeanne presides at a council of state—Condé is proclaimed generalissimo of the Huguenot forces—The queen undertakes the government of La Rochelle, and the management of the finances of the confederate princes—She sends an embassy to queen Elizabeth—Her letter—Elizabeth's reply—She presents queen Jeanne with a subsidy—Rapid progress of the Huguenot arms—Renewed revolt of the barons of Béarn—Decree issued by the king of France, confiscating the principality of Béarn, with its dependencies—Military measures adopted by Jeanne d'Albret for the suppression of the revolt—The army of the Viscounts—Catherine makes overtures of peace to Condé—She despatches Portal to the camp—Condé's reply—Jeanne's letter to Catherine de Medici—Progress of hostilities—Battle of Jarnac—Death of Condé—Coligny effects his retreat to St. Jean d'Angély—Grief of the army—Queen Jeanne arrives in the camp, with the prince of Navarre and Condé's son—Her oration to the army—Its enthusiasm—Prince Henry is proclaimed general-in-chief, under the guidance of Coligny—Te Deum chanted in Paris for the victory of Jarnac—Jeanne applies to queen Elizabeth for aid—Her letter to the queen—Correspondence of Jeanne d'Albret with Marie de Cleves—Advance of the duke de Deux-Ponts—Junction of the German levies with the forces of the confederates—Troubles in Béarn—Jeanne nominates

Montgomery her lieutenant-general—Entry of Terride into Béarn—He subjugates the whole of Béarn—Siege of Navarreins—March of Montgomery into the principality—His successful progress—Joined by the army of the Viscounts—Combat of La Roche Abeille—Decrees issued by the parliament of Paris, setting a price upon the Admiral's head—The queen of Navarre, her son, and Condé are specially exempted from the decree, by command of king Charles—Storm and sack of the town of Orthez—Montgomery takes the revolted barons prisoners—He marches upon Pau—Flight of de Navailles, its governor—His assassination—Transport of the people of Béarn on receiving queen Jeanne's lieutenant—Montgomery re-establishes the council of state—Death of the six barons is resolved upon—Their execution—The whole of the territories of the queen of Navarre submit to her lieutenant-general, the count de Montgomery.

DURING the afternoon of the day upon which she entered La Rochelle, queen Jeanne gave audience, in the Hôtel de Ville, to the authorities of the town; and was complimented by an harangue, pronounced on behalf of his townsmen, by the mayor, Jean de Labèje. Her spirited reply to this address enchanted the Rochellois; so that the hall of audience rang with acclamations. The young prince of Navarre was welcomed, in his turn, by the people of La Rochelle, in a second most erudite address. Henry listened with a gravity above his years; and when the mayor brought his harangue to a close, he replied: "Messieurs de la Ville, I am not sufficiently advanced in my studies to speak as you do. I assure you, however, that, though I possess not yet great facility of speech, my conduct shall deserve your approbation: I know much better how to act, than to speak." The simplicity of these words, and the grace and frankness

of the prince's manner, greatly affected the assembly ; and Jeanne, with her noble son, retired, escorted by the people to the very threshold of her private apartments.¹

The manly and engaging deportment of the young prince was of essential service to the cause Jeanne had so much at heart ; and to promote which, she had risked the confiscation of her hereditary dominions, and rendered her son liable to the penalties of treason. Great was the sacrifice that the queen of Navarre thus made from conscientious motives : the future hung on the success of the arms of Condé. If the court triumphed, there remained no other fate for Jeanne and her heroic son, than proscription, and, possibly, dependence upon the bounty of Elizabeth, queen of England. Well might Jeanne exclaim, " I have a work to perform, and I must steel my heart to accomplish its demands !" The prince won favourable opinions, from all classes of persons. " We have with us here, the young prince of Béarn," wrote one of the inhabitants of La Rochelle, " and he is, I assure you, a most loveable creature. He is agreeable, affable, and obliging. He receives his friends with a most noble and gracious air ; and in all things he acts as becomes a great prince. When he enters into conversation, it is with the tone of one who perfectly understands his subject. He talks well ; and when the discourse turns on the court, he shows

¹ Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret*, vol. i. Le Grain, *Vie de Henri IV.*

himself cognizant with its ways and projects. In short, the prince always expresses what he ought; and never says any thing irrelevant to his dignity, or to the position in which he now finds himself." Another writer at this season, states, "This young prince of Navarre daily gains fresh adherents. He insinuates himself into all hearts with an ease and dexterity perfectly marvellous. If men honour and esteem him greatly, I can assure you, that he is not less favoured by the ladies here. His face is very handsome: his nose is neither too large, nor too small; his eyes have a mild expression; his complexion is brown, of a clear hue, and most healthful to look upon. His vivacity is so *piquante* and animated, that if the ladies do not fall in love with him, it will be a most strange and surprising circumstance." The object of Henry's chivalrous gallantry at this season was, the beautiful Corisandre d'Andoins, the youthful bride of the count de Guiche, who had followed in queen Jeanne's train to La Rochelle. The ardour of the prince's court, and the manner in which his overtures were received by the countess, occasioned much disquietude to Jeanne d'Albret, as it greatly offended the count de Grammont, her old and attached servant, to reward whose fidelity she had bestowed the heiress of d'Andoins on his son.¹ As an instance of the influence exercised by the versatile

¹ After the decease of her husband, Philibert, count de Guiche, the beautiful Corisandre became the avowed mistress of the king of Navarre. The count de Guiche died before the year 1570.

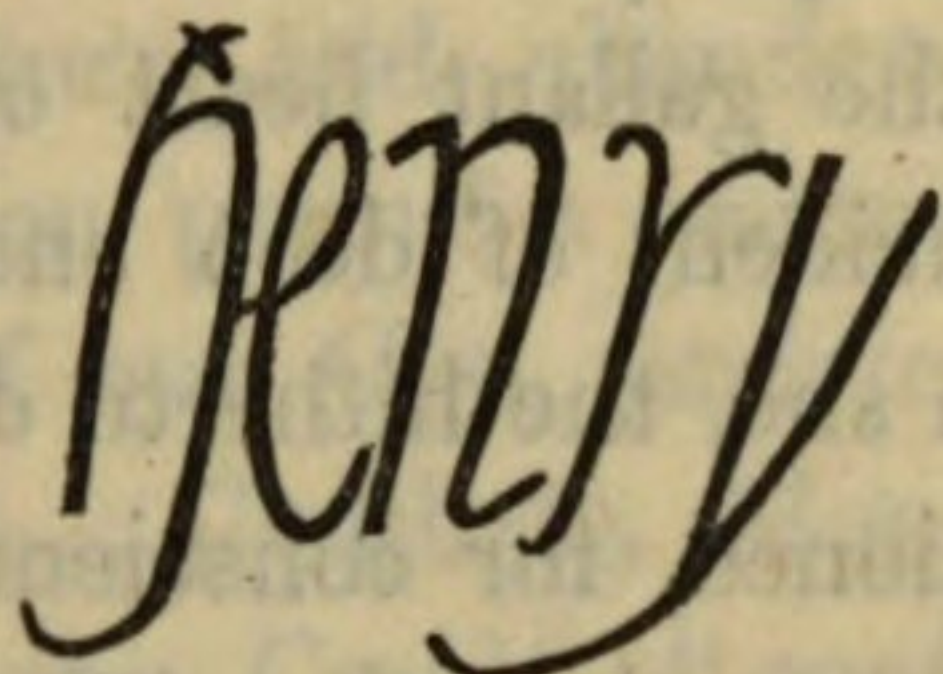
gifts of Henry over the minds of his friends, the following anecdote is recorded. The young prince was addicted to habits of great profusion. As he never presumed to apply for pecuniary aid from his mother, who, having assigned the prince a sufficient revenue, reserved her treasures for higher purposes than to defray the cost of his dissipation, Henry several times resorted to the extraordinary expedient of addressing a letter, signed by himself, to the principal nobles and ladies of Guyenne and Béarn, in which he requested the loan of a certain sum, specified therein, in consideration of which, the lender was at liberty to keep the billet; if, on the contrary, the loan were refused, the prince desired that the letter might be returned.

“Such was the affection borne towards the prince,” says the historian, Le Grain,¹ “that no one ever thought of refusing his demand; for there was not a house that felt it not an honour to possess amongst its records, the writing and autograph of this noble prince.”

It would be doing the queen of Navarre great injury, to suppose that this clever *ruse*, on the part of the prince of Béarn, was countenanced by herself. Jeanne would have regarded her son's extravagant expenditure with indignation; so frugal and self-denying were her own habits. The following is a fac-simile of the signature so highly prized by Henry's future lieges of Béarn and

¹ Hist. de Henri le Grand.

Guyenne, given, when the prince had accomplished his eighth year.



Henry greatly excelled in penmanship; his firm and well formed characters present themselves with refreshing distinctness to the eye wearied in dwelling on the confused, and often illegible manuscripts of the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The day that followed queen Jeanne's entry into La Rochelle, witnessed a most imposing ceremonial. The council, composed of the queen of Navarre, the princes, the nobles, and the principal citizens of La Rochelle, assembled to nominate and proclaim a commander-in-chief for the Huguenot army; and to determine the form of government proper for the Rochellois and the inhabitants of the adjacent Pays d'Aunis, during the suspension of their allegiance to the crown of France. This important deliberation was holden in the Hôtel de Ville. The command of the army could alone be claimed by the veteran Condé, or by the young prince de Béarn, to whom honourable precedence properly appertained by right of birth. Cheered by enthusiastic plaudits, Jeanne and her son took the chief places at the council-board; the ladies and gentlemen in the queen's suite occupied the space immediately behind the chair of

their royal mistress, and the lower end of the hall was filled by spectators. It was a triumphant moment for the gallant heart of Jeanne d'Albret, as well as an incident of deep and painful import in her life, when she, the hitherto devoted subject of Charles IX, sanctioned, for conscience-sake, by her presence and active participation, the rebellion which threatened to dethrone the grandson of Francis I.

Amidst the silence of the assembly, Condé rose; in an eloquent address, he resigned the chief command of the confederated army to the Prince de Béarn. After expatiating on the heroic virtues which adorned the character of the queen of Navarre, the prince promised her son paternal guidance. As first prince of the blood, and as chief of the house of Vendôme, Condé tendered also to the young Henri his devoted service, and allegiance. The plaudits of the multitude sufficiently demonstrated their participation in the sentiments expressed by Condé. The enthusiasm manifested for her son, and the words of Condé deeply affected the queen; and it was observed that she had difficulty in repressing her emotion. She then rose, and on behalf of her son, declined the command-in-chief of the confederated armies. "No, Messieurs, I and my children are here to promote the success of this great enterprise, or to share in its disasters. We will joyfully unite beneath the august standard of Condé, and obey the behests of a chieftain who has gathered glory from every enterprise. The cause of God,

Messeigneurs, is dearer to me than the aggrandizement of my son. The same sentiments inspire the prince; he would rather return and abandon his share in this great design, than permit a resignation so pernicious to the glory of our God, and to the successful issue of our arms. Continue, Monseigneur," added Jeanne, addressing Condé, "continue to us your counsels. For the salvation of all—for the sake of my son, the chief of your race, retain the command which you have rendered illustrious by deeds of heroic valour. As for myself and my son, we are ready and willing to obey you everywhere, and in all things."¹ In vain the chiefs of the council tried to shake the queen's resolution; Condé, in his turn, represented to Jeanne that while prince Henry was invested with the nominal command, he would fulfil towards him an office similar to that performed by the marshals de Tavannes and de Biron in the camp of Catherine's son, the young duke d'Anjou. But the queen's grateful affection for Condé, and her trust in his integrity, rendered her firm in her refusal not to permit that any authority should even nominally supersede his own. By her command, therefore, Condé was immediately proclaimed general-in-chief of the confederated army. "My son," exclaimed the queen, when Henry had signified his assent to the measure, "policy, gratitude, and necessity have combined to render it expedient that you should resign this command to your uncle. This

¹ De Thou, Hist. de son Temps.

honour, in truth, appertained to yourself in virtue of your birth and rank ; but it is a privilege which you cannot now safely claim without exposing your party to ruin—a ruin that must entail your own. Europe is at this moment watching your actions ; you have ceased to be a child. You have become a man. Go then, my son, and being subordinate now, learn under the valiant Condé to command some day also in your turn. Show yourself worthy of the blood you inherit ; and augment the ancient glory of our race !” The noble spirit of Henri le Grand was moved within him at this address. Jeanne appreciated the magnanimous heart of her son. In a few brief words the prince promised obedience to his uncle, and vowed to devote himself to the cause, and never to sheathe his sword until his mother’s enemies were vanquished.

The next act of the council before it separated, was to offer to the queen the civil administration of La Rochelle ; the management of the finances of the confederates ; the conduct of negotiations with the court of France, and with foreign cabinets ; and the general supervision of the allied forces.¹ In fact, Jeanne’s duties were as onerous as those of Condé : whilst his standard led the combined forces to the battle-field, the queen’s intellect, foresight, and prudence were needed to insure the successful execution of the designs of the confederates. This post of difficulty and anxiety was accepted by the queen : Jeanne’s intrepid spirit knew no wavering ; as her

¹ De Thou. Vauvilliers. Favyn, *Hist. de Navarre*, liv. 14.

health declined under the pressure of misfortune, her mental powers shine the more brilliantly. Already, the queen's constitution showed symptoms of disease, the which had been so fatal to her mother, and to other members of the royal house of Angoulême; and, at times, she suffered acutely from pulmonary disorders. After Jeanne's arrival at La Rochelle, her nights were often disturbed and sleepless. During the day, her activity, and her surprising memory, excited the wonder of all persons admitted to audience; but when she retired to the privacy of her apartments, heavy care oppressed her, and often she was observed to sit motionless, as if exhausted with the vast mental efforts of the past day.

One of queen Jeanne's first acts, was to despatch Chastellier, a gentleman of her household, holding a high command in the navy of the confederates, to queen Elizabeth, to ask her aid; and to explain the cause of the hostile attitude which she had assumed against Charles IX. She commences her letter by stating, that as God had given Elizabeth grace to become one of the nursing mothers of His church, it behoved all who were engaged in the same holy work to render her majesty a due account of their proceedings. "In that which relates to myself, madame, I entreat you to believe, that three things alone have induced me to depart from my kingdom; the first of which is—the cause of religion, menaced and afflicted by the treachery, and barbarous policy of the cardinal de Lorraine, and others inspired with

like sentiments. It would have been a scandal, and a shame, madame, that my name had been even mentioned in so holy a cause, in concert with other noble princes and lords, if I did not determine to spare neither my blood, nor my treasures, to insure its success." The queen proceeds to discourse on the other points which had occasioned her departure from Nérac, nearly in the language she uses in her letter to the king, dated from Bergerac; and she makes the same statement relative to Condé's flight from Noyers. "I very humbly beseech you, madame, to accept these my assurances, and to assist us with your favour and countenance. I will, further, pray God to reward your efforts, and to augment His benedictions upon you, to the preservation of your person and realms. I pray you, madame, receive the humble commendations of a mother and her children, who would fain render you service; also to credit what the sieur de la Chastellier has in charge to unfold to your majesty, whom I take the liberty of recommending to your gracious notice."¹ The cardinal de Châtillon, who yet remained the guest of Elizabeth, visited the queen at her palace at Richmond, to represent the condition of the princes, and to beseech her majesty to send them succour. Elizabeth was moved with indignation when she learned the perils to which Condé had been exposed; but especially after she had perused the edict issued by the king, in defiance of his past royal assurance,

¹ MSS. Cotton. Calig. E. vi. No. 61.—Inedited.

suppressing the Reformed Faith, and declaring its adherents guilty of misdemeanour and treason. She immediately granted the succour solicited ; and despatched to La Rochelle six pieces of artillery, with ammunition in great abundance. She likewise presented to the queen of Navarre, as a gift, the sum of one hundred thousand angelots ;¹ she also sent her a letter of sympathy, containing the promise of more effectual aid at a future period. Condé acknowledged Elizabeth's present, by sending her majesty, by the same vessels that conveyed the welcome succours, some very musical bells, woollen goods, and several tons of iron and other metal.² Elizabeth always manifested the staunchest friendship for Jeanne, and for her son ; and in addressing the queen, she invariably discarded the peremptory strain of her ordinary style of correspondence with foreign potentates. Her support of the hostile demonstration made by Jeanne and Condé occasioned serious disquietude to the French government ; and it induced Catherine to make the overture for peace which she subsequently tendered.

Meantime, the forces of the confederated princes increased with astonishing rapidity. The towns of St. Maxent, Fontenay, Niort, St. Jean d'Angély, Pons, Blaye, Angoulême, and Taillebourg, received garrisons from the army of Condé. The admiral de Coligny, with an army of twenty-five thousand

¹ An angelot was a coin of the value of ten shillings.

² Mém. de Michel de Castelnau, liv. 7. chap. II.

men, lay encamped on the plains of Jaseneuil. D'Andelot, his brother, found himself, in less than a month, at the head of one hundred thousand combatants; Jacques de Crussol, count d'Acier, raised a body of twenty-two thousand infantry by the command of queen Jeanne, in Languedoc, and marched to join the prince. The duke de Montpensier in vain tried to intercept and defeat this division: a conflict ensued at Messignac, in which the Huguenots lost three thousand troops; but they nevertheless continued their march, and joined the army of the Prince without further molestation. In less than a month after Condé's flight from Noyers, he had subjugated the greater part of Angoumois, Saintonge, and Poitou, with the territory adjacent to La Rochelle. The generals commanding the royal army, distracted by counter-orders from the court, did little more than oppose an ineffectual resistance to the enthusiasm demonstrated in the south for the Protestant cause. Driven from Pampron, by Condé and Coligny, the duke de Montpensier and the viscount de Martigues, failing to check the advance of the Huguenots across the Loire upon Saumur, the campaign for the year 1568, in all only two months of warfare, was terminated by the retreat of the royal army into Limousin, for winter quarters.¹

The queen of Navarre, during the progress of the campaign, had quitted La Rochelle, and repaired with

¹ Mém. de Michel de Castelnau. De Thou, Hist. de son Temps. D'Aubigné, Hist. Universelle, t. i. liv. 5.

her son to Tonnay-Charente. There she bade farewell to the prince, who departed to join the army. With her own hands, Jeanne invested her son with that armour, which during his eventful and glorious career, Henry was destined never to lay aside. The woman and the heroine shone in the few emphatic words with which she dismissed him to fight for the great cause ; to maintain which, she was content to sacrifice dignities, and life itself. When some individual expressed astonishment that she could thus witness, with unshaken fortitude, the departure of the prince, Jeanne replied, "The felicity and glory of promoting so holy a cause, enables me to surmount the emotions of my sex ; while it has inspired my noble son with courage to rise above his age."

From Tonnay-Charente, the queen journeyed to Niort, to confer with Condé on the finances of the confederated princes. Jeanne devoted the treasure which she had conveyed from Nérac, to the purposes of the war ; she also sold jewels of great value, and gave the money to replenish the exchequer of the princes. The town of La Rochelle advanced the sum of 16,000 gold crowns, for the same purpose. As these sums, added to the 100,000 angelots, the gift of queen Elizabeth, proved inadequate to defray the vast expenses already incurred, the object of Jeanne's journey to Niort was to consult Condé on a measure for improving the finances of the confederates. The queen proposed, that the church lands, situated within the territory recently subjugated,

should be confiscated, and offered for sale, and the funds arising therefrom applied for the prosecution of the war.¹ This project was adopted; and Condé and the queen jointly issued the required commission, authorizing the seizure of the temporalities of the Roman Church, wherever the Huguenot arms triumphed.

King Charles and his mother, during these transactions, quitted St. Germain, and took up their abode in the Louvre. When Catherine found that her plausible promises produced no impression on the mind of Jeanne d'Albret, her rage and consternation were excessive. Her schemes, which she had thought so cleverly planned, were defeated with ignominy; for Jeanne's letter to king Charles proved that she had all along been cognizant of the existence of such design, when Catherine believed that the secret rested in her own bosom, and in the keeping of her tried agents. Catherine's *forte* was the art of gaining insignificant successes by tortuous diplomacy; of providing ingenious interpretations for state documents without strictly violating their letter; and of veiling her true intents beneath the figures of a gracious and fluent rhetoric. She, therefore, hated the queen of Navarre, because Jeanne generally discerned the true object of her diplomatic wiles.

The council was immediately summoned, on the news reaching Paris of the departure of the queen of Navarre for the camp of the confederates; the

¹ Mém. de Castelnau, liv. 7. chap. II.

letter which she had addressed to the king from Bergerac, being read before the assembly, by the cardinal de Lorraine. Charles expressed intense resentment at the conduct of the queen; while the cardinal de Lorraine, whose removal from office was declared by the Huguenot leaders to be the object of their demonstration, pleaded no less bitterly. The sequestration of the domains, and of the lands held in fief by the queen of Navarre, was hastily decided upon. With a plausible reserve, doubtless emanating from the cautious policy of Catherine de Medici, the seizure of Béarn was commanded on the plea, that the queen and her son were captives in the camp of the confederates, and compelled, despite their will, to sanction the hostile attitude of Condé against the king, his sovereign. In her ardour for the cause, Jeanne had recklessly abandoned both her territory and her friends to their fate. When d'Arros, to whom the queen had intrusted the government of the principality before her departure from Nerac, announced to the council and states of Béarn the retreat of the queen, the consternation was general. The people at first listened to the communication in silent dismay; murmurs and discontent soon prevailed everywhere; and all began greatly to dread the sovereign before whose displeasure their valiant-hearted queen had been compelled to flee. It was, perhaps, one of the gravest errors committed by Jeanne d'Albret, thus to abandon her dominions, before she had provided for their defence; or for the means of allaying the panic

certain to arise there on the news of her departure for the camp of the confederates.

The malcontent barons, whom the queen had pardoned, at the intercession of Catherine de Medici, forthwith renewed their treasonable intrigues in Béarn. The county of Bigorre revolted, and transferred its allegiance to Charles IX, at the instigation of Antin, its sénéchal. In the county of Foix, the standard of revolt was raised, and some bloody massacres ensued. To complete the calamitous condition of Jeanne's hereditary domains, the Spaniards entered Foix, and besieged the castle of d'Heurs.¹ Philip's designs greatly alarmed the French council, and an order was forwarded, without delay to the baron de Luxe,² the leader of Jeanne's rebellious subjects, to seize the principality of Béarn, the territory of Lower Navarre, and the counties of Foix, Armagnac, and Bigorre, in the name of the king of France. An edict was likewise despatched to the parliament of Toulouse, enjoining the members to aid de Luxe to execute the commission intrusted to him. This document is worded with great caution; the queen and her son were therein expressly exonerated from the crime of treason, so as to afford the possibility of treating

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre. Favyn, Hist. de Navarre, liv. 14.

² Charles, sovereign Count of Luxe in Lower Navarre, Knight of the order of St. Michael, and captain of fifty men-at-arms. He espoused the daughter of the baron de Lansac, and their daughter and heiress became the consort of Louis de Montmorency, seigneur de Bouteville.

with them, should a favourable opportunity occur. The tenor runs thus :

“ Charles, by the grace of God, King of France, to our trusty and well-beloved members of the high court of parliament, at Toulouse. We have been informed that our very dear and beloved aunt, and the prince of Navarre, her son, our dearly beloved brother, are, at this present time, with those of our subjects in arms against our authority. Nevertheless, as the favours and gifts which they have received from our crown are numberless, we cannot believe that they have taken this measure voluntarily and of their own free-will ; otherwise, they would most justly be chargeable with the crime of ingratitude, considering the manifest, and most notorious treason of those our said subjects. We having, therefore, always embraced the cause, and taken under our royal protection the persons and domains of our said aunt, and our brother, her son, regarding their territories in all things as our own, it would now be unbecoming to our dignity, not to extend to them our aid in their present calamitous captivity ; and, also, to employ ourselves to the utmost, to preserve to the said lady and queen her dominions, which may hereafter descend and appertain to the prince her son. Such being our desire, and after due examination made of the means in our power to effect this object, we have found no remedy better calculated to obviate the evil designs of those who would do the said queen disservice, than to

take possession of her territories ; and not only those which she holds in fief from our crown, but also, the countries belonging to her in sovereign right. For this reason we order, command, and very expressly require you, by these our letters, to seize and retain, until our further command, all lands, towns, places, castles, and lordships, belonging to the said lady and queen, whether situated under our jurisdiction or not ; for which purpose, we have given ample instructions to our well beloved and trusty Sieur de Luxe, Knight of our order of St. Michael. Given at Paris, this 18th day of October, in the year of our Lord, 1568.¹"

The first act of the parliament of Toulouse, after receiving Charles's mandate, was to despatch an agent, one Christopher Richarde, into the county of Foix, with an order authorizing him to take down the armorial bearings of the queen of Navarre from all public buildings, to efface her seal from all state documents, and to substitute the arms of Charles IX. The parliament of Bordeaux, receiving from the council an edict of similar tenor, entered with alacrity into the designs of the sanguinary Montluc upon Béarn. The marshal published a manifesto at Agen, in which he branded Jeanne d'Albret, as a traitor to her sovereign, declared her domains forfeited to the crown of France, and exhorted the king's faithful lieges to slay and imprison all the queen's subjects of Béarn, who should resist the

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, p. 578.

ordonnance of the king of France.¹ D'Arros, and the brave Montamar, organized immediate measures for the defence of the principality; they levied twelve companies of infantry, the command of which they bestowed upon one Bassillon, an adherent of the house of Albret.² From La Rochelle queen Jeanne watched the progress of the storm which was about to desolate her heritage of Albret, and to concentrate its fury upon Béarn. She issued commissions to the viscounts de Bourniquel, Montclar, Gourdon, and Rapin, to levy more troops, and to march with all speed to the aid of d'Arros and Montamar. This brave body of troops, distinguished as "*l'armée des Vicomtes*," afterwards rendered the queen right noble service.

The extreme severity of the weather continued to suspend all warlike operations. King Charles's lieutenant-general, the duke d'Anjou, had retired into winter quarters, at Chinon, while the royal army encamped in Limousin. The rapidity of the successes of Condé filled the mind of Catherine with perplexity. The organization of his army, and the ardour which actuated the Protestant population of the south, occasioned, also, deep misgivings in the mind of Charles's counsellors. The royal generals, Montluc, Bellegarde, and Montpensier, vainly essayed to repress the risings in the southern provinces; for, inspired with dauntless enthusiasm, the Huguenots

¹ Mém. de Montluc. Olhagaray. D'Aubigné.

² Ibid.

gathered round the standard of their chieftains. Already, the Protestant population of the German states responded to the animated appeal made to them by Jeanne d'Albret; and levies of troops waited but the dawn of spring to pour upon France. The army of the viscounts clamoured to be led to the combat; while the fleets of Elizabeth of England transported to the Rochellois, supplies of provisions and ammunition of war. During this brief suspension of arms, Catherine de Medici, moved by these considerations, resolved to make an effort to dissolve the formidable confederation which her own treachery had cemented.

In the prison of Conciergerie was one Portal, a Huguenot, formerly accountant-general at Agen, who was incarcerated there for false testimony, and alleged malversation in his office. For reasons which, at this distance of time, defy explanation, Catherine liberated this Portal, and despatched him, as her ambassador, to Condé, the bearer of a message from the queen, to this effect—that if the prince would propose negotiations for peace, his overtures would be warmly seconded by the court. The mission of Portal occurred during the last days of December, 1568. Condé granted Portal audience, in presence of the princes and of his officers. His reply to the queen's message was, “that he had not taken up arms against the king, but to subdue the enemies of his faith, and principally, the cardinal de Lorraine; also, that he was ready to lay down arms, provided

his majesty would grant liberty of conscience to his subjects generally, with licence for the public exercise of the Protestant faith."¹ Jeanne, likewise, addressed urgent expostulations to the queen, by the sieur de Renty, and her secretary, La Chassetière, who accompanied Portal back to Paris. Queen Catherine's reply to Condé's message being unfavourable, Jeanne again despatched Renty with the following letter:—

JEANNE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE, TO CATHERINE
DE MEDICI, QUEEN OF FRANCE.

MADAME,

It has pleased your majesty to receive and listen to the sieurs de Renty and la Chassetière with so much condescension and favour, that I should fail in my obligation if I omitted to return you my humble thanks. Nevertheless, madame, as it has pleased you to return us no answer to the things we craved of your majesty's goodness—such as, that it would please the king to grant us liberty of conscience, the public exercise of our faith, with the restitution of our estates, honours and dignities, we cannot proceed with this negotiation. For this cause, madame, I again despatch the sieur de Renty to be informed through him of your majesty's final intentions. Madame, the said sieurs de Renty and la Chassetière have apprised us that your majesty said that we must make no demand respecting the exercise of our religion. I can scarcely persuade myself, having once had the honour to know your majesty's sentiments intimately, that you could wish to see us reduced to such an extremity as to profess ourselves of no

¹ Mém. de Michel de Castelnau, liv. 7. La Popelinière, Hist. de France.

religion whatever, which must be the case if we are denied the public exercise of our own ritual. As you, moreover, assured them, madame, that you sincerely desired peace, I will state to you the only way to obtain this blessing: it is, madame, to be achieved only by allaying the feuds and animosities which now exist amongst all classes in the realm; and to satisfy your humble subjects, of whatever degree and faith, who desire nothing so much as permission to worship God according to their conscience in obedience to their king. Madame, with tears in my eyes, and actuated by sentiments of affection and loyalty towards you, I solemnly assure your majesty, that if it will not please the king and you to condescend to our sorrowful demands, I see that nothing can result from this negotiation but a truce, to be followed by disastrous civil conflicts. We have come to the determination to die all of us rather than to abandon our God, and our religion, the which we cannot maintain unless permitted to worship publicly, any more than a human body can live without meat and drink. I pray you, therefore, madame, take gracious heed of my fervent, and humble supplications, and grant us peace, with tranquillity, to this realm. I have indicated to you the sole method of achieving this purpose; consider, moreover, madame, the torrents of blood which must flow; the iniquities certain to be committed during this cruel war, which one word from your royal lips can arrest.

You may, perhaps, suspect, madame, that we ask much at first, in order to obtain concession the more readily on divers points. Believe, madame, however, that the affairs of the immortal soul, admit not of the same latitude as temporal concerns: there is only one road to obtain eternal salvation: therefore, what we propose for your majesty's acceptance, is all that we can concede, and

neither more nor less. I can, therefore, but implore for it, your majesty's earnest attention. I know well, that if it pleases you, you can grant our demands to the full: the age of the King, and the maturity of his sense, and judgment having confirmed his sense of duty as a son towards his mother, of which legitimate influence and authority, if your majesty makes the use we trust in, all will doubtless be well.

Madame, la Chassetière repeated to me the many words of kindness which your majesty was pleased to use respecting myself; for which honour and favour I very humbly return you thanks: nothing do I desire more earnestly, madame, than that by the conclusion of a satisfactory peace, I may be enabled personally to assure you of my gratitude.

Madame, I will unceasingly supplicate the God, who disposes the hearts of kings according to His holy will, so to inspire the mind of the king, and of yourself, that peace and concord may again reign in this realm to His Glory and the prosperity of your majesties, despite the base intrigues of Monseigneur the cardinal de Lorraine, as revealed by himself to Villegagnon, respecting the which, if your Majesties were not already well informed I could state something.

I pray God, madame, in his mercy, to grant your Majesty, a long life.

Written at La Rochelle, this 27th day of December.

Votre très-humble et très-obéissante serviteur et subjecte.

JEHANNE.¹

Catherine returned no answer to this appeal; every hope of negotiation passed away, and the

¹ The original of this letter is in the collection of M. Louis Paris, who has courteously forwarded a copy to the author. It is now published for the first time.

massacres committed by both the belligerent parties inspired all peacefully disposed subjects of the realm with disgust and horror. Jeanne retired to La Rochelle, where she ruled with consummate wisdom, propitiating all parties, providing for the efficient victualling of the garrisons of the confederates, and forwarding, almost daily, large supplies of food and provision for the army of the princes. Her energy and decision were deemed marvellous; the queen superintended all things often in person; and attended by a staff of officers, she visited the port and every part of the town. She daily held council; and on her sole authority ordained all matters relating to the finances of the confederates.

The royal army, meantime, quitted Limousin, in January, of the year 1569, and passing the Vienne, advanced upon Verteuil. The forces of the duke d'Anjou, had been augmented by the junction of the count de Tende with a body of 3000 troops. Several weeks were spent in skirmishes by both parties, and in the assault and capture of towns and fortresses.

The forces of the princes advanced in the beginning of March, upon Cognac, where they were joined by a division from the army of the Viscounts. It was Condé's intent to wait the arrival of Wolfgang of Bavaria, duke de Deux Ponts, with a succour of 13,000 German mercenaries, before engaging in conflict with the royal troops. The duke d'Anjou however, by the advice of Tavannes and Biron,

opposed Condé's progress towards Cognac, and passing the Charente, he attacked the Prince at Jarnac. The vanguard of the confederates was commanded by Coligny, who being repulsed by the impetuous onslaught of the king's troops, sent to entreat Condé to hasten to his aid with the main body of the army. Condé complied with the request, and led the battle in person, though, at the commencement of the action, his right leg was broken by a kick from the horse of the count de la Rochefoucauld, who never quitted the side of the prince throughout that disastrous day. The conflict became general: Condé performed prodigies of valour; his presence animated and sustained the drooping courage of the Huguenot troops, who, attacked by overwhelming numbers, and before any of the numerous detachments in reserve could advance to their aid, gave way on all sides. Tavannes and Biron pursued their advantage; and, at length, the prince himself was surrounded, and taken prisoner. The rout then became universal. Coligny rallied his broken battalions; and by the exercise of the highest skill and judgment, he effected a retreat to St. Jean d'Angely.¹

Condé, meantime, strictly guarded by his captors, d'Argence and Jean de la Roche, was conducted to the rear of the enemy. An officer, high in the favour of the duke d'Anjou, named Montesquiou, then suddenly rushed forwards, accompanied by several

¹ *Mém. de Castelnau*, liv. 7. *De Thou*. Maimbourg, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, liv. 5. p. 422.

companions, loudly vociferating "*Tue, tue, Mort Dieu !*" and, before any could interpose, he levelled a pistol, and shot the prince dead on the spot.¹ This barbarous murder was suffered to remain unavenged: the duke d'Anjou is supposed to have expressed approbation of the atrocious crime; and it is, at least, certain that he proposed to erect a chapel, and found a perpetual service of thanksgiving, on the spot where the unfortunate prince fell.² The body of the valiant Condé was treated with contumely: thrown carelessly, without any covering, across the back of an ass, it followed in the rear of the royal army, when Anjou made his entry into the town of Jarnac. The remains of the prince were subsequently restored to his son; and queen Jeanne caused them to be interred in the mausoleum of the Bourbon princes at Vendôme.

For many days after the fatal battle of Jarnac, the spirit of the Huguenot army seemed extinct. Condé was mourned with frantic lamentations by his army: his gallant deeds, courage, and affability, and his base assassination, aroused, by turns, the most powerful emotions of sorrow, admiration, and vengeance. The soldier, dispirited and desperate, no longer yielded willing obedience to his superior; discipline, during the few dreary days succeeding Condé's death, appeared to be set at nought and defied, within

¹ Castelnau, liv. 7. De Thou. Maimbourg, Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. 5. p. 422. D'Aubigné. De Thou, liv. 45. La Popelinière. Brantome.

² Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret.

the Huguenot camp. The movements of the royal generals, at length, admonished Coligny, that no longer interval of suspense might be indulged in with impunity: the army required a fresh stimulus, and to be roused to renewed efforts in the cause. He, therefore, despatched a messenger to La Rochelle, to entreat the presence of Jeanne d'Albret in the camp. The queen, however, was already upon her way, accompanied by the two young princes, neither of whom had been actually engaged in the bloody fight of Jarnac.

The most acute grief for the loss she had sustained, oppressed the queen; for no one understood better than Jeanne d'Albret the peril to which the Huguenot cause was exposed by this defeat. By the command of Coligny, the army was drawn up in battle-array, to receive the queen. The gloom which darkened every brow, the trailing banners, the mourning veil which everywhere covered the escutcheon of the fleur-de-lis; the emotion of Condé's son, who rode at her left hand, severely tried Jeanne's fortitude as she approached. But the queen had permitted no weak lamentations to impede the fulfilment of her varied duties: her sense of what was due to the glorious cause for which she suffered and laboured, supported Jeanne d'Albret at this crisis; and she demeaned herself as became the heroine and the queen. Her popularity with Condé's soldiers had been confidently relied upon by Coligny; and the shouts of joyous welcome which saluted her, as she rode along

the front ranks of the army, proved that her influence was unimpaired. Cheers were also given for the prince of Béarn, who, clad in armour, and bearing the shield with the fleur-de-lis emblazoned, which became afterwards so renowned, seemed inspired with martial ardour to avenge the disastrous defeat. In Jeanne's train were, Coligny, d'Andelot, la Rochefoucauld, Fontrailles, de Piles, Rohan, Pontivy, several of the valiant Viscounts, Genlis, and others. The queen presently advanced, having Condé's son on her left, and the prince de Navarre on her right; and, sustained by "that high heart, and lofty and resolute spirit," says de Thou,¹ she spoke thus to the assembly:—

"Children of God, and of France,—Condé is no more! That prince, who has oft times set you the example of courage, and of unstained honour, who was always ready to combat for his king, his country, and his faith; who never took up arms except to defend himself against implacable enemies; that heroic prince, whom even his foes were constrained to reverence, has sacrificed his life for the noblest of causes! Instead of receiving from us the laurel crown, the just guerdon of his valour, his brows are now circled with the diadem of immortal glory. Condé has resigned his breath on the battle-field, in the midst of his career of fame. He is dead! A sacrilegious hand has severed the thread of life. His enemies have deprived him of being, by a deed of

¹ De Thou, *Hist. de son Temps*, liv. 45. Mathieu, *Hist. de Charles IX.*, liv. 7.

cowardly perfidy. What say I? Have they not even added foul insult to his cold remains? Oh! how, by this base outrage, have they not augmented his renown, and defiled for ever the laurels culled on the fatal field of Jarnac!

“Soldiers, you weep! But does the memory of Condé demand nothing more than tears? Will you be satisfied with profitless regrets? No! let us unite, and summon back our courage, to defend a cause which can never perish, and to avenge him who was its firmest support! Does despair overpower you? Despair! that shameful failing of weak natures; can it be known to you, noble warriors, and Christian men? When I, the queen, hope still, is it for you to fear? Because Condé is dead, is all, therefore, lost? Does our cause cease to be just and holy? No! God, who placed arms in his hand for our defence, and who has already rescued you from perils innumerable, He has raised us up brothers-in-arms worthy to succeed him, and to fight for the cause of religion, and the king, our country, and the truth! Not only princes of royal lineage remain for our leaders, but Coligny, la Rochefoucauld, la Noue, Rohan, de Piles, d’Andelot, Montgomery! To these brave warriors, I add my son. Make proof of his valour! The blood of Bourbon and of Valois flows in his veins! He burns with holy ardour to avenge the death of the prince. Behold, also Condé’s son; now become my own child. He is the worthy inheritor of his father’s virtues. He succeeds to his

name, and to his glory. Soldiers ! I offer to you everything in my power to bestow : my dominions, my treasures, my life, and that which is dearer to me than all—my children ! I make here solemn oath before you all—and you know me too well to doubt my word—I swear to defend to my last sigh the holy cause which now unites us : which is that of honour, and of truth !”¹

Profound silence succeeded Jeanne’s harangue ; then cheers resounded from every part of the field. The soldiers crowded round the queen, clamorously demanding to be led to the combat. During this scene of excitement, the young prince of Navarre, mingled with the soldiers. Inspired with sudden impulse, the army unanimously hailed him for its chief and leader in the room of Condé. Jeanne having signified her assent, the young Henry was saluted on the spot as generalissimo of the confederate forces. “Soldiers, your cause is mine, our interests are identical. I swear to you on the salvation of my soul, and by my honour, and life, never to abandon you !”² exclaimed he, enthusiastically. Proclamation was made of the command henceforth to be exercised by the prince of Navarre under the guidance of de Coligny. By the queen’s direction, the young prince de Condé took the same oath as Henry had done to remain faithful to

¹ De Thou, *Hist. de son Temps*, liv. 45. Mathieu, *Hist. de Charles IX*, liv. 5. Mezeray. D’Aubigné, liv. 5. Mém. de Michel de Castelnau, liv. 7.

² Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d’Albret*, t. 1.

cause. Jeanne then publicly presented him to her the son as his brother-in-arms. "Thus," says the historian, "queen Jeanne, by her courage and heroism, dissipated the dejection of our warriors, so that the army, after hearty cheering, and a great salvo of artillery, dispersed, every man retiring content to the quarters allotted to him."

The news of the defeat and death of Condé was received with transport by the court. The courier arrived in Paris at midnight, when the king immediately rose, and attended the chaunting of a *Te Deum* for the victory of Jarnac, performed in the chapel of the Louvre.¹ The valour and military science of the duke d'Anjou,² became a theme of laudation for the poets and courtiers; not one of whom, however, believed that the prince had of himself contributed to the victory, which was due solely to the ability of Tavannes and Biron. Catherine, however, exulted in the praise of her best-loved son; and she was even betrayed into expressing her delight more fervently than was politic in the presence of the king, who was jealous of his brother's growing renown, and who loathed the inaction in which his mother held him. Castelnau was commissioned to hasten the advance of the marquis of Baden, and the German levies in the pay of the king; while the dukes de Nemours and d'Aumale were des-

¹ Journal de Brulart. Charles sent the standards and colours captured at Jarnac to the pope.

² The duke d'Anjou had just attained his sixteenth year, when the laurels won by Tavannes and Biron were awarded to him, by the flattery of the court poets.

patched by the council at the head of six thousand men to intercept the advance of the duke de Deux Ponts to join the army of the princes.

Queen Jeanne quitted St. Jean d'Angely two days after she had harangued the troops, and retired to Saintes. After sojourning there for a short time, she departed for La Rochelle. The finances of the confederates being exhausted, Jeanne again had recourse to the friendship of queen Elizabeth, who consented, at the request of the queen of Navarre, to advance a considerable sum of money upon certain valuable jewels and other effects offered by the prince de Condé and the admiral. The queen also placed in the keeping of Elizabeth a diamond necklace of great value, one of the most precious heir-looms of the house of Albret. The necklace is described in the inventory of the jewels given into the hands of Elizabeth as "being set with eleven large table diamonds, one diamond being set clear, as a pendant, the said necklace being valued at the sum of 160,000 crowns. Jeanne, likewise, pawned a ring set with a large balass ruby, surrounded by pearls, and valued at 1000 crowns.¹ Upon these jewels, Jeanne received considerable sums, which enabled her to transmit the necessary funds to her valiant viscounts for the military enterprises which she at this time contemplated in the south.

The inventory of the jewels sent by Jeanne to Elizabeth, is dated June 4th, 1569. A few weeks

¹ MS. Cotton. Calig. E. vi. No. 93.—Inedited.

later, the queen addressed the following letter to the queen of England, whose support she had found so constant and encouraging.

JEANNE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE, TO QUEEN
ELIZABETH.

MADAME,

I will not fail to profit by the present opportunity to thank you for your past kindnesses, and for the assistance which it has pleased you to bestow upon us, beseeching you, madame, to continue this your favour and countenance, in return for which, I pray God to grant you rewards worthy of your piety, and exalted dignities. First, madame, I supplicate that the great God may bestow everlasting felicity upon you, who so nobly sustain the Church. Secondly, the heartfelt homage of all the valiant princes, nobles and captains, who have vowed to serve you; thirdly, glory and honour so exalted that your renown, madame, may resound to the limits of the world itself. Madame, I will not enter upon the subject of our affairs, as M. l'amiral intends to explain to you every incident connected therewith. I shall only commend myself, madame, to your Majesty's gracious favour, while supplicating God to augment the mercies He is pleased to vouchsafe you.

Written at La Rochelle, this 19th day of July, by your majesty's

Very humble, and obedient sister,

JEHANNE.¹

Elizabeth sent the queen the most affectionate reply to this flattering letter; and she caused the fleet to transport to La Rochelle a second succour of artillery,

¹ MS. Cotton. Calig. E. vi. No. 106.—Inedited.

powder, and ammunition of various descriptions ; also, she promised to take under her own guardianship the valuable jewels entrusted to her by Jeanne.

The queen, about this season addressed the following curious letter to her niece, Marie de Cleves, youngest daughter of the duke de Nevers, and Marguerite de Bourbon, sister of her late husband.

JEANNE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE, TO MARIE DE CLEVES,
MARQUISE D'ISLE.

MA NIECE,

I have singular pleasure in learning that your health continues in a satisfactory condition. I feel, nevertheless, much sorrow to hear that the affairs of your soul progress not so well, as knowing the zeal which you demonstrate in religious matters, I doubt not that it is a very great trouble, and unhappiness to you to live thus. God, *ma nièce*, will remedy this misfortune at His own good time. As for news of myself it is good ; excepting only the extreme grief which we feel for the loss of M. le Prince, my brother, in which sorrow I doubt not that you share. Our sole, and only consolation is that he died on the bed of true honour (*au lit d'honneur*) spiritually and bodily, for the service of his God, his king, and for the welfare of his country. My son has received so great honour from the army as to be elevated to the command, in the place of M. le Prince. He will render good service, or else he will likewise, give his life, for his God and his king. Our army is in a better condition than it has yet been. Nevertheless, we trust more in God, than in the strength of our forces : peradventure He may grant us peace and repose, after so long a period of adversity. Be assured, *ma nièce*, that wherever I may be, I will always fulfil towards you the

duties of a mother; and you will confer singular pleasure upon me by often sending me news of yourself, as you have greater opportunity of doing so than myself. I send you your furrier, whom I retained here, until after the arrival of Coderson, in the hope that I might learn from him happy tidings of you. I beg you to heed the dictates of your conscience. Praying that our merciful God will keep you in safety, and bestow upon you all requisite blessings.

I remain, your loving aunt, and best friend,¹

JEHANNE.

Marie de Cleves² eventually espoused the young prince of Condé. The queen took great interest in her welfare; and at the request of the duchesse de Nevers, she had selected a preceptress for the princess, madame de Belestar, whose attachment to the cause of reform had been the means of inspiring Mademoiselle de Cleves with distaste for the religion of her ancestors. The passion which the duke d'Anjou conceived for Marie de Cleves, and which was thwarted by the ambitious intrigues of Catherine de Medici, embittered the after life of both parties, and occasioned most disastrous results.

The queen, meantime, continued to enforce obedience to her mandates within the town and district of La Rochelle. Her rigid justice was appre-

¹ MS. Cotton. Vespasian, F. III. art. 5.—Inedited.

² The duke de Nevers left three daughters only, coheiresses: Henriette, duchesse de Nivernois, espoused Ludovico de Gonzaga brother of the marquis of Mantua; Catherine espoused, first, Antoine de Croy, prince de Porcien—secondly, Henri, duke de Guise; Marie became the consort, in 1572, of Henry de Bourbon, prince de Condé.

ciated and respected. It had been ordained in the council of war holden in the camp of the princes, that the levies of money made on the Rochellois for the payment of the foreign mercenaries about to join the army, and to defray the expenses of the new fortifications constructing at La Rochelle, should be raised arbitrarily from the citizens according to the allotment made upon each householder by the council : a mandate was, moreover, issued forbidding the members of the town-council, established by queen Jeanne, to take cognizance of any complaints and grievances made by those so mulcted. This law was submitted, in the first instance, to Jeanne d'Albret ; its prompt and uncompromising tenor, providing for a necessity which could not be obviated without its enforcement, gratified the queen ; and she replied, " that the law had so much of her entire approval, that it was her pleasure it should be exactly and wholly obeyed by the members of her council in La Rochelle." It so happened, however, that the town counsellors sympathised more with the alleged grievance of their brethren than did the members of the confederate council ; and the *ordonnances* of the princes were modified, and even sometimes totally evaded. The consequence was, that delays arose in the levy of the requisite funds. The princes, therefore, republished their former decree during the month of June 1569, supported this time by a formal mandate from queen Jeanne, decreeing heavy penalties for any evasion of its letter or intent.¹

¹ Registres des Ordonnances et Délibérations du Conseil estably

The duke de Deux Ponts, and the count de Mansfeldt, during these transactions, accomplished their march through France from the banks of the Rhine into Guyenne, at the head of a body of mercenary troops, to join the army of the princes at St. Yvrier. The dukes d'Aumale and de Nemours had been sent, each at the head of a considerable division of the royal army, to intercept this progress. The duke de Deux Ponts, however, skilfully evaded the conflict, and crossed the Loire between the towns of la Charité and Nevers. In the army of the duke were the brave Huguenot chieftains, the marquis de Renel, de Mouey, d'Autricourt, and Francourt, chancellor of Navarre, sent by his royal mistress after the defeat of Jarnac, to hasten the advance of the German troops. The duke d'Anjou prepared to oppose the duke on his entry into the province of Limousin; and Montluc and Bellegarde advanced to arrest his passage across the river Charente: but the Germans, steadily continued their progress, and avoided a combat. The duke de Deux Ponts, their skilful leader, however, succumbed beneath the fatigues of the campaign, struck by a fit of apoplexy at Nessun, a town close to Limoges. The count Wolrad Mansfeld assumed the command of the troops; and capturing Nontron on his route, a place appertaining to Jeanne d'Albret, he effected a junction with Coligny at St. Yvrier.

par la Reine de Navarre à la Rochelle.—MS. Archives Impériales, K. 100. No. 55.—Inedited.

The queen of Navarre immediately repaired thither. The army reinforced, and inspirited by the repulse of the duke d'Anjou from Cognac, received Jeanne with its accustomed enthusiasm. Again, she electrified the soldiers by an harangue, pronounced in the presence of the assembled chieftains. Her noble spirit showed itself competent to meet every contingency. She then granted audience to the officers of the confederated armies. At this reception, the queen renewed the articles of confederation and alliance, between the German Protestant princes, and the Huguenot party in France. Before her departure from La Rochelle to commemorate the alliance, Jeanne had caused a gold medal to be struck, bearing her own effigy, and that of her son; on the reverse were the words, *Pax certa; victoria integra; mors honesta!* Each medal was suspended to a chain of gold. Jeanne placed one of these chains round the neck of each of her brave officers, French and German, in sign of friendship and alliance, as they stooped to kiss her hand, at the conclusion of the audience.¹ By the queen's direction, a quantity of medals of inferior value, but of similar design, were liberally distributed to the soldiers.

The news which Jeanne received from Béarn, meantime, was of disastrous import. It overwhelmed the queen with anxiety and grief; and augmented her many causes of disquietude. The town of Oléron had

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, pp. 6-7. Castelnau, liv. 7, chap. vi.

declared for Charles IX. Ste. Colombe, one of the most factious of the barons of Béarn, led the revolt, which soon extended throughout the principality. Béarn became divided against itself; one half of the population declaring for Charles and the Romish Faith, present security, and future favours from the court; the other party, comprehending the queen's poorer subjects, strenuously resisting the decree of confiscation issued by the French government. Amongst the nobles faithful to their royal mistress and her interests, at this crisis, were d'Arros, governor of the principality, and his two sons, Montamar,¹ one of the viscounts who was associated with d'Arros in the government, Henri d'Albret Miossens, de Sales, and many other personages of less note. The party hostile to the cause of the queen, comprehended the faction whose disaffection had harassed the government of Jeanne from the day of her accession, the barons de Luxe, de Pordiac, de Gerdretz, de Ste. Colombe, de Goas and Henri de Navailles, whose brother, the baron de Peyré, nevertheless, was one of the queen's bravest servants.

D'Audaux, sénéchal of Béarn, once favoured by the queen above her other counsellors, held aloof for some time, from leaguings with either of the factions desolating the principality. One of the most important and wealthy of Jeanne's subjects, his aid was eagerly coveted both by d'Arros, and by Ste. Colombe, chief of the rebels of Oléron. D'Audaux, compelled,

¹ The viscount de Montamar was the brother of Michel d'Astarac, baron de Fontrailles.

at length, to declare himself, decided on obeying the mandate of the king, whom he publicly acknowledged as sovereign paramount over the principality. He, therefore, in his capacity of sénéchal of Béarn, published a manifesto, calling upon all loyal Béarnois to render obedience to their sovereign, by respecting the mandates of king Charles, as his majesty had seized the principality, with the benevolent intention of restoring it to queen Jeanne, as soon as she had recovered her liberty. The valiant de Grammont, meanwhile, Jeanne's devoted partisan, declined to take share in the conflict; and retiring to his castle, he sturdily maintained a neutral attitude. It is supposed, that both d'Audaux and de Grammont¹ deeply felt the slight inflicted by their royal mistress, in excluding them from all share in the administration during her absence; and that this cause greatly influenced their subsequent conduct. Jeanne, however, at this period, beset by treason and ingratitude, confided the care of her dominions to the subject who had never betrayed her interests; who was a devoted personal friend, as well as an enlightened counsellor. The father of d'Arros aided the escape of Henry, king of Navarre, from the fortress of Pavia; and his son had been educated by queen Marguerite

¹ It is asserted by some, that when summoned by Montamar to join the army of the Viscounts, de Grammont replied, "that when queen Jeanne deigned to request his services, he would implicitly obey her majesty's commands." The letter announcing this, the determination of one of her most faithful subjects, never reached the queen at La Rochelle.

d'Angoulême, as her favourite page of honour. To the ear of d'Arros, Jeanne confided all her projects, as he professed the reformed religion ; these circumstances, therefore, induced the queen, at her departure, to place the sceptre of her principality in his keeping, to the exclusion of her potent subjects, d'Audaux and de Grammont.

Oléron continued successfully to resist the queen's brave lieutenants, d'Arros and de Montamar. Ste. Colombe, dreading the result of a prolonged siege, wrote to Antoine de Lomagne, seigneur de Terride, general-in-chief of the French army, who had been commissioned by Catherine to take military possession of Béarn, to delay no longer his entry into the principality. Terride, therefore, passed the frontiers, and encamped on the plains of Bisanos. D'Audaux, sénéchal of Béarn, then joined the camp of the French general, summoning all the towns on his route to receive Terride, and defeat the designs of the revolted Huguenots, who, he asserted, after detaining queen Jeanne in captivity, wished to seize on the heritage of Albret. Soon, all Béarn had made submission to the king's lieutenant: town after town received detachments from the main army, with one of the rebel barons as commandant of its garrison. Perceiving that it was impossible to resist the overpowering force, under the command of Terride, d'Arros and his brave band retreated to the fortress of Navarreins, and there declared their intention of defending themselves, until succours arrived from the

queen, their mistress ; or, of falling, sword in hand.¹

The army of the Viscounts still remained encamped in Quercy : upon this brave body of men the hopes of the queen's lieutenants were fixed. Dissensions, however, between the commanders, had hitherto prevented its advance into the principality. Jeanne caused these troops to be augmented by considerable levies. She then nominated the count de Montgomery² to the command-in-chief over her armies of the south, and entrusted to him unlimited powers for the pacification of Béarn. The letters-patent conferring upon Montgomery this high mission, were placed in his hand by Jeanne herself, in the presence of her council, at La Rochelle. Every day increased the perils to which her hereditary domains were subjected, through the resentment of the king and his mother. Pau, her capital city, had surrendered to Terride ; from thence, the baron led his victorious army before Navarreins, and laid siege to this her last stronghold. Tears of mortification and grief were shed by Jeanne, when she thought of the ravages committed throughout Béarn—the heritage of her ancestors—by Terride's fierce soldiery ;

¹ Olhagaray, Hist. de Béarn. Favyn, Hist. de Navarre. De Thou, liv. 45.

² Gabriel de Lorges, count de Montgomery. Montgomery had been living a refugee in England, from the period of the fatal tourney, in which he accidentally killed king Henry II. He returned to his own country to combat for the Protestant cause, and was present at the siege of Rouen, 1563.

the pillage and sack of her flourishing towns ; the overthrow of the laws which she had established ; and the misery of her subjects, roused within the bosom of the queen a longing for signal retribution on the authors of such calamity.

Montgomery's warrant bestowed upon him unlimited authority. All the queen's subjects, whatever might be their degree and position, were placed under his authority. He was, also, invested with power of life or death, over all criminals convicted of offences against the state. "Go, valiant Montgomery," exclaimed the queen, in the presence of her council, "go, and deliver Béarn. Smite the traitors, and those guilty nobles whom no past clemency has been able to subdue. Pardon my misguided people. If these traitorous nobles escape retribution from your hands, provide, at least, that they do no more harm ; assail their vital interests ; you will then, at least, render them obedient to the laws, from a knowledge that submission is unavoidable !" The queen then received Montgomery's oath of fidelity and allegiance : he promised her majesty "to perish in her service, or to win back her dominions."¹

Every hour added to the critical position of d'Arros and his brave followers, besieged in Navarriens, by Terride. Their faith in the word of the queen, and their knowledge that she would exert every effort for their relief, inspired them with fortitude to endure the terrible privations of a lengthened

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret, t. II.

siege. Already Montluc had received an order from the duke d'Anjou, to attack the army of the Viscounts ; and to put it to the rout. The royal troops, led by the most renowned commanders of France, such as Montluc, Bellegarde, Negrepelisse, Damville, hemmed in Jeanne's principality, while Terride occupied every fortress in her country, excepting Navarreins. The duke d'Anjou, with Tavannes and Biron, his coadjutors in command, lay encamped in Limousin ; the mission, therefore, which Jeanne had conferred on the valiant Montgomery, seemed impossible of accomplishment, until the arms of Coligny had thrown back the tide of war upon the banks of the Loire.

Montgomery, nevertheless, commenced his march from La Rochelle, escorted by two hundred horse, recently equipped at the private expense of the queen. He boldly pushed forward into Limousin, passed the camp of the duke d'Anjou, crossed the Dordogne, and arrived safely at Montauban. From thence he proceeded to Castres, a little town on the river Agout, avoiding, with most astonishing good fortune, capture from the outposts of the royal camp, at Moissac, under Fontenille. At Castres, Montgomery was joined by the Viscounts and their army, and by numbers of gentlemen professing the Reformed Faith. Gradually the ranks of Jeanne's defenders increased. Montamar, Caumont de la Force, Rapin, Serignac, joined the standard of Montgomery ; and by the middle of July, the queen's army amounted to many thousand

men. Damville and Bellegarde vainly strove to arrest the count's march. With incredible rapidity and success, Montgomery passed onwards through the county of Foix. After defeating Negrepelisse in a skirmish, close to St. Gaudens in the Pyrenees, the count stormed and captured the town of Bigorre. After this success, Jeanne's army steadily augmented; the proclamations of the general were responded to with alacrity; and provisions in abundance were furnished to the troops by the peasantry of the district. In short, the successful march of Montgomery into Béarn, through a country swarming with hostile armies, was only to be equalled by the celebrated progress of the duke de Deux Ponts, from the Rhine into Guyenne. Historians are at a loss to assign motives for the extraordinary inactivity and incompetence displayed by Charles' generals, in both these instances. The opposing force, which they were commanded to intercept and destroy, amounted not to half the number of troops under their own command; yet, Nemours, and d'Aumale, Montluc, Bellegarde, and Damville, Tavannes, and Biron, suffered themselves to be beaten and out-manceuvred in military tactics by an enemy inferior in numbers and prowess. Every anomalous incident in war, or politics, during the reigns of the three last Valois kings, is attributed to the intrigues of Catherine de Medici. Faithful to her motto, "*que tout périsse pourvu que je règne*," the queen, it is asserted, fearing that the complete triumph of the Catholic

arms would render the power of that faction dominant, and, wishing to retain the balance of parties in her own hands, contrived that such contradictory orders should be transmitted to the royal generals, as might paralyze their operations, and thus prolong the contest so favourable to her ambitious designs.

Montgomery entered Béarn on the 6th day of August, 1569. He was the leader of an imposing force; Montamar being second in command. The people, groaning under the sanguinary oppression of Terride's soldiery, rallied with enthusiasm round the banner of Albret. Jeanne possessed, in an eminent degree, the affectionate homage of the lower classes of her subjects; the simplicity of her deportment, and the frankness of her disposition attracted their respect and admiration. On the 7th of August, Montgomery traversed the river Gave, below Coaraze, in the sight of Terride's army, besieging Navarreins, and prepared to offer him battle, or to compel him to retreat. During the night of the 8th, the besieging army retired in battle array, and sought refuge in the town of Orthez, declining the combat against troops fresh, and animated with enthusiastic ardour for their cause.¹ The following morning Montgomery and his gallant army entered Navarreins, which had been defended so long and valiantly by d'Arros. The triumph of Jeanne's brave adherents was

¹ La Popelinière, Hist. de France, t. i. liv. 17. D'Aubigné, Hist. Universelle, t. i. liv. 5. Mém. de Montluc.

great in proportion as their victory had been signal and complete.

Whilst Montgomery thus subjugated the royal forces in Béarn, queen Jeanne triumphed in another success obtained by the arms of Coligny at the great skirmish of La Roche-Abeille, gained by the Huguenots in the presence almost of queen Catherine herself, who had advanced with the court to Limoges to visit her favourite son, though ostensibly to treat for an armistice with the queen of Navarre.¹ The army of the Princes then laid siege to Poitiers, which was defended by the young duke de Guise.

On the 13th of September, the parliament of Paris issued a decree, declaring Gaspard de Coligny, admiral de France, guilty of high treason, and degrading him from his dignities. The decree condemned him to death, and directed that the sentence of the High Court should be executed on his effigy, if Coligny himself was not previously apprehended. The admiral's estates were confiscated; his children degraded, and pronounced plebeian; and, lastly, a sum of 50,000 crowns was offered for his apprehension alive or dead.² The same day the admiral was hanged in effigy on the Place de Grève; and the escutcheon of his arms was broken and defaced by the public executioner. This sentence received the assent of the king on the 27th

¹ Mém. de Michel de Castelnau, liv. 7.

² See the Edict—Journal de Brulart.

day of the same month; his majesty, however, forbad Messieurs de la Court to proceed, as they intended, to pronounce judgment against the queen of Navarre, the prince of Navarre, and the prince de Condé; nor yet to attain the memory of the late Louis, prince de Condé: "We, therefore, address to you these present letters, by which we expressly command and enjoin, that you proceed not yourselves, nor suffer any judgment to be recorded against the said personages, on account of present troubles, as we reserve for ourselves the sole cognizance and decision in all and everything, which may concern them; also, in the matter concerning the memory of the late prince de Condé. Moreover, if any proceedings have already been instituted against the said personages by the parliament, it is our will and pleasure that such be rescinded, and declared void. Given au Parc du Plessis-les-Tours, this 23rd day of September, 1569."¹

It must be admitted that Charles and his mother invariably interposed to save Jeanne d'Albret and the princes from the penalties arising from their hostile defiance. The Roman Catholic faith was dominant in France; and in the eyes of the majority of Frenchmen, Jeanne and her party were guilty of malignant treason, in taking up arms against the king, calling in the aid of foreign potentates, and in presuming to encounter the armies of the sovereign

¹ Mandement du Roy à sa Cour du Parlement. MS. Bibl. Roy. Dupuy, 500, p. 120.—Inedited.

in the battle field. Though the maintenance of their religion was the pretext alleged by the Huguenots for their rebellion, yet if its public exercise were denied by the king, his fiat had been voluntarily confirmed by the vast majority of their countrymen. The treaty offensive and defensive, concluded by Jeanne with queen Elizabeth was of itself a misdemeanour which exposed her, as a vassal of the crown of France, to the confiscation of all her territories, and dignities holden within the realm. Her position as sovereign of Béarn alone prevented this act from lapsing into absolute treason ; though that her independence of the crown of France had been repudiated by her subjects of Foix, Béarn and Navarre, by their immediate submission to Terride when he demanded their obedience in Charles's name.

Doubtless the true motive of the tender regard evinced by the crown of France for Jeanne d'Albret, and its clemency towards the princes at this period, arose from the successes of Montgomery in Béarn. As Montluc observes in his Commentaries : "The victories of Montgomery procured for queen Jeanne that consideration which later, neither treaties nor supplication could have extorted from Charles IX."

After Terride had been compelled to decamp from before Navarreins, brief was the interval consumed by Jeanne's victorious chieftains in mutual congratulations on their triumph. After the troops had reposed for the space of one hour, and had joined in a solemn religious service, Montgomery led his

army upon Orthez, in which place Terride, the rebel barons, and nearly the whole of Charles's army had sought precarious refuge, in the hope of being succoured by Fontenille, or Bellegarde. Montgomery's first halt was at village of St. Maigret; from thence he commanded a view of the devoted town. Preparations were therein making for a vigorous defence; the place swarmed with troops, French and Béarnois, with priests and friars, who, all at Terride's bidding, assumed arms. The *sénéchal* de Béarn had retreated thither with the French army; as soon, however, as d'Audaux heard of Montgomery's advance, he quitted Orthez, under pretext of hastening the advance of some recently hired bands under Damazan, and sought refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains. Montgomery advanced to the assault under a hot fire from the besieged; the irresistible ardour of his troops overpowered all obstacles. Led by Montamar, Caumont de la Force, Montclar, and Gourdon, all Jeanne's devoted friends and adherents, they valourously attacked the fauxbourgs of the town. The walls were scaled—the soldiers making use of the hay-racks of their horses in lieu of scaling ladders; whilst the surrounding country was fired by a division under Montclar. Montgomery's soldiery soon entered the town; the carnage then became of the most horrible description: all were massacred at the sword's point without respect to age, sex, or supplication. The current of the Gave was arrested by the bodies of multitudes of victims hurled into the river to find

therein a more merciful release from torment than some of their unhappy townsmen. The monasteries and convents were burned; while not one of the inmates was permitted to escape from the blazing edifices. The lamentations of women and children, the shouts of the ferocious soldiers, and the burning city, gave terrible evidence of the savage prowess of the "army of the Viscounts."¹

Terride, and the rebel barons de Ste. Colombe, Gohas, Gerdretz, Pordeac, Caudan, and Favas, fought their way through the streets, and took refuge in the citadel, which was situated on a hill, commanding the town of Orthez and a great extent of country. So total was their rout, that they fled thither without artillery, or provisions of any kind. The city, after a combat of a few hours, surrendered unconditionally to queen Jeanne's lieutenant. Then commenced a terrible act of retribution, by command of Montgomery and the viscounts: every Roman ecclesiastic, proved to have borne arms during the conflict, suffered the punishment of death, by being precipitated, bound hand and foot, from the bridge over the Gave into the river. The spot where this sentence was executed, is still shown to the traveller; and is known by the designation, in the Basque dialect, of "*la fenestre deous caperous*." Of all the ecclesiastics

¹ Castelnau, liv. 7. Commentaires de Montluc, liv. 6. D'Aubigné, Hist. Universelle, p. 296. D'Aubigné estimates the slaughter in the streets of Orthez to have exceeded three thousand men. De Thou.

then congregated in Orthez, one alone escaped,—the dean of Oléron.

After having authorized this act of retributive justice, queen Jeanne's chieftains gathered their troops, and proceeded to bombard the castle, the last refuge of the rebel barons, and of Charles's lieutenant, de Terride. By the order of Montgomery, the cannon of the vanquished, captured in the streets of Orthez, was seized, and brought to bear on the fortress. For some time the besieged defended themselves by deeds of surprising valour; the troops in the town, however, set fire to the city from several points, and the flames soon reached the outworks of the castle. The attack continued, on the part of Montgomery's soldiers; and the spirit even of the bold Béarnois barons, who had so long defied their sovereign, died within them when they contemplated the doom awaiting them, if the castle fell by assault. Accordingly, Terride and the barons hoisted a flag of truce, preparatory to a capitulation. Fortunately for the vanquished, the brother of Terride, the viscount de Serignac, interceded on their behalf with Jeanne's stern lieutenant, or their prayer to capitulate would have been rejected. Articles of surrender were immediately drawn up, and sent to Terride, who accepted them without demur. The bombardment of the castle then ceased, the gates were opened, and Montgomery and the Viscounts entered the fortress. The conditions imposed on the rebels were, "first, the liberty of all Protestant ministers taken during

the war, with restitution of their property. Secondly, that Terride should remain a prisoner,¹ until he had paid the sum of eight hundred gold crowns for his ransom, or was exchanged for the brother of Montgomery and the baron de Pouilly, both prisoners of war in the hands of the French." The third condition was the most important, and the one which has given rise to much historical inquiry and conjecture. The article was that which decided the fate of the rebel barons whose intrigues had brought indescribable calamity on their country. It stipulated that "the chieftains and gentlemen of every degree within the castle of Orthez, at the moment of Terride's capitulation, without even excepting the rebel Béarnois barons, should incur no peril of their lives (*n'auront mal desplaisir, mais la vie saulve*); only, that they bound themselves to remain prisoners of war, until exchanged for Protestant captives of the same rank, then in the hands of his majesty's generals in the south; or, the alternative might be offered them of paying a ransom for their liberty." The fourth clause of the conditions imposed upon Terride, states, that the common soldiers engaged should be liberated and permitted to return to their homes; and, that the ammunition of war taken in Orthez and the castle, should be forfeited to queen Jeanne.² The first part of this latter clause was

¹ Terride died some few months afterwards of mortification at his disgraceful defeat, while still a prisoner in one of queen Jeanne's fortresses.

² De Thou, liv. 45. Commentaires de Montluc, liv. 6ème. Olhagaray, Hist. de Béarn, p. 617.

punctually executed by Montgomery : Jeanne had said, " Pardon my misguided people ! " Throughout his public career, as viceroy of Béarn, Montgomery cannot be said to have violated one command given to him by his royal mistress ; but, while acting to the very letter of the sentiments he had heard her express, he refrained from exercising the discretionary power with which she had likewise invested him.

As soon as Orthez surrendered, Montgomery despatched Montamar and a division of the army, to summon the governor of Pau, de Navailles, to yield the capital. This de Navailles, during his brief tenure of power, had become the scourge of all classes of the queen's subjects. Cruel and perfidious, he ruled by terrors and the sword. Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, fell victims to his rapacious tyranny. The day that Montamar appeared before Béarn had been fixed by de Navailles, for the execution of the president la Vigne, and three members of the council of state, for having presumed to render some negative assistance to the cause of their royal mistress. The governor of Pau refused, at first, to surrender at the summons of the viscount de Montamar ; but, when informed of the advance of Montgomery, he escaped in disguise from the capital, and fled to Hagetmau. Pursuit was instantly made, by order of the queen's lieutenant. The unhappy de Navailles was discovered crouching, in abject terror, under one of the arches of the bridge at

Hagetmau, over the Gave—that river already red with the blood of Jeanne's enemies. Montauban, the officer in command of the detachment, approached, and, drawing a pistol from his girdle, deliberately shot the baron, whether actuated by motives of private enmity, or in obedience to the commands of Montgomery,¹ has not been ascertained. On discovering the flight of their governor, the populace of Pau rose to arms, and, with loud shouts for the queen, they massacred a great part of the garrison placed over them by Terride. Montgomery and his victorious army entered Pau on the 23rd day of August, 1569, after a campaign, brief, yet brilliant in success. The white banner of France was lowered from the hold of the ancient castle of Pau, and that of Albret raised in its stead, amidst clamorous vivas. The minister Vinet then addressed the people, taking the words of the 124th Psalm, as the subject of his discourse: "Praised be the Lord, who hath not given us over for a prey to our enemies; for they had swallowed us up, when they were so wrathfully displeased with us!"²

The following day, two individuals, named Audios, and du Puy, this last being a canon of Lescar, who had rendered themselves peculiarly subservient to the tyranny of de Navailles, were hanged, by order

¹ De Thou, liv. 45. Commentaires de Montluc, liv. 6ème. Olhagaray, Hist. de Béarn, p. 617.

² Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn, et Navarre, p. 619.

of the queen's lieutenant. Meantime, the rebel barons, Gohas, Ste. Colombe, Gerdretz, Sus, Pordeac, and Favas, had been conducted, under a strong escort, to Navarreins, where they were incarcerated in a dungeon beneath the castle. A ruler, stern, unrelenting, and impracticable, dominated now in that hall, where these rebel leaders had before received pardon from their merciful sovereign, for their treacherous conspiracy against her life. The council of state was immediately reconstituted by Montgomery; it commenced its operations by annulling the *ordonnances* given by Terride, and restoring the Code of queen Jeanne. In the fervour of their indignation against their late oppressors, the members declared every noble who had joined, or even countenanced the insurrection against the queen's authority, guilty of treason, and condemned all such to proscription and confiscation. Montgomery declined to sanction this edict; but, satisfied with the spirit of loyalty it displayed, he published an amnesty, granting pardon to all rebels who voluntarily renewed their oaths of obedience to the queen, excepting, however, by name, the six barons, leaders in the late revolt. The council, nevertheless, seized the goods and chattels of the rebels; or, to use the words of the edict, "of all those engaged in the late conspiracy, whether dead or alive, absent or present;" and commanded a public sale of the effects thus confiscated, to replenish the exchequer of the state.¹

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret.

The ominous exception of the names of the barons from the list of the amnestied, might have prepared their adherents for the fate awaiting them. The barons and their friends, however, persisted in asserting their claim to eventual liberation, on the faith of the articles of capitulation, signed at Orthez, where "*nul déplaisir, mais la vie sauve*" was guaranteed to them.

The danger of liberating these nobles, who, for twelve successive years, systematically defied their sovereign; who had conspired against her life, and had raised the standard of revolt three times in the heart of her dominions—was forcibly represented to Montgomery. The pardon which they had before received from the lips of the queen herself, seemed only to have provoked still more malignant disaffection. It was represented to the count, that in the present condition of the country, the liberation of these traitors would again inflict the woes, civil and religious, from which he had delivered them. The council clamoured for their execution. Montgomery's own secret conviction of the impolicy of the concession which he had made at Orthez, added greater weight to these representations. It had first been resolved that the barons should be detained in safe custody, while their ultimate fate was decided by the queen. This decision, however, was overruled: Ste. Colombe and his fellow-prisoners were hastily arraigned, and condemned to die. On the 24th of August, therefore, they were led from their prison, and placed in the middle of a company of soldiers,

drawn up to receive them. At a given signal, the soldiers fell upon the condemned barons, and massacred them on the spot.¹

Most historians assert that this bloody execution was directly commanded by Jeanne d'Albret. Such, however, is not the case. The despatch written by Montgomery to Jeanne, who was at La Rochelle, announcing the capitulation of the town of Orthez, is dated August 17th: so that the surrender even of the rebel barons to her lieutenant, could not have been known to the queen on the 24th of the same month—the day of their execution. The last order which Jeanne transmitted to Montgomery, was received by him while at Castres, July 27th; while, the queen's reply to her lieutenant's despatch, communicating the capture of Orthez, and the captivity of the barons, is dated September 15th. Montgomery had no further indication of the queen's will in the matter, than what was conveyed to him by her parting words: "Go, Montgomery; go, and deliver Béarn! Smite the traitors, and those guilty nobles whom no past clemency has been able to subdue! Pardon my misguided people!" It is almost impossible to divine what Jeanne's decision would have been, under the circumstances, if the fate of these guilty barons had been referred to herself. Her sense of justice, and of duty to her subjects, must, doubtless, have rendered her sensible of the inexpediency of inter-

¹ D'Aubigné, *Hist. Universelle*, t. i. liv. 5. De Thou, *Hist. de son Temps*, liv. 44. Olhagaray, *Hist. de Navarre*, p. 620.

posing to rescue from their just doom, men stained with crimes of the most atrocious description, and whose only claim to pity is the barbarity of the punishment inflicted. It is to be presumed, however, that Jeanne would have redeemed her general's plighted word, had appeal been made to her ; so unsullied is her own repute for frank and scrupulous honour.

The violation of the capitulation of Orthez is the only stain resting on the renown of Montgomery : his achievements, at this period, seem almost fabulous in their prowess and fortune. He took leave of queen Jeanne at the end of the month of June, traversed one hundred and fifty leagues of country, beset by no less than five hostile armies ; avoided the king's generals ; gathered his own troops together ; leagued with the Viscounts, without loss or hindrance ; and marched into Béarn on the 6th day of August, surmounting every obstacle. Once within the principality, in the space of fourteen days he raised the siege of the queen's strongest fortress ; stormed the town of Orthez ; routed the royal army, and took its general prisoner, capturing the rebel lords, whose treason had convulsed their country for years ; and, finally, on the 23rd of August, 1569, he crowned his valiant exploits by planting again the standard of Albret on the castle of Pau.

CHAPTER IV.

Measures adopted by Montgomery in Béarn—His summons to the inhabitants of Lower Navarre—Their submission—Arrest of Bassillon—His assassination—Battle of Moncontour—Coligny is wounded—Arrival of queen Jeanne at Niort—Her defence of Coligny—Holds a council of war—Jeanne proposes a plan of campaign—Dissensions of the court—The queen returns to La Rochelle—She causes the New Testament to be translated in the Basque dialect—Plot to surprise La Rochelle—Revolt of the town of Tarbes—Its bloody suppression by Montmar—The queen publishes an edict, banishing Roman Catholic ecclesiastics from her dominions—The Romish faith is renounced by the majority of the queen's subjects of Béarn—Capitulation of St. Jean d'Angély—Discontent of the French nobles—Catherine despatches Castelnau to the queen of Navarre with propositions for peace—Jeanne's cautious reply—She despatches a courier to the camp of the princes—Articles of peace are forwarded by the queen and princes for the assent of king Charles—Jeanne's embassy to the court of France—Charles rejects the demands of the princes—He proposes other terms of peace—Second embassy sent by Jeanne to the court—Mission of the marshal de Biron to La Rochelle—Catherine mediates in favour of the baron de Luxe—Letter of Lansac to queen Catherine—Jeanne refuses to pardon the baron, or to reverse his attainder—Victory gained by La Noue at Ste. Gemme—La Noue is dangerously wounded—He suffers amputation of the arm at the prayer of the queen—

Jeanne's courageous deportment—She is in danger of being captured by the king's lieutenant, Puy Gailliard—Progress of the campaign—Discontent of Charles IX.—His anger against his mother and his brother—Catherine finds herself compelled to make renewed overtures for peace—She nominates ambassadors to sign a peace at St. Germain—Its articles—The peace proclaimed at La Rochelle in presence of the queen—Public distrust and despondency—Anxieties of the queen of Navarre—She refuses to visit the court—Her letter to Charles IX.—Menacing deportment of the Huguenot leaders—Catherine invites the queen of Navarre to visit the court, on the occasion of the king's marriage festivities—Jeanne declines the honour—Ambassage of Cossé to La Rochelle—His proposals—Marriage proposed between the prince of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois—Reply of queen Jeanne—She nominates envoys to proceed to the court—Charles's gracious deportment and assurances—He sanctions the holding of a Synod of ministers at La Rochelle—Marriage of Coligny—Incidents connected with that event—Jeanne presides at the Synod—Its acts—She publishes the New Testament in the Basque dialect—Embassy of the marshal de Biron—Negotiations for the marriage between the prince of Navarre and madame Marguerite—Jeanne's excessive disinclination to negotiate this alliance—Her excuses and procrastination—Remonstrances of the ambassador—Details of the interview—Coligny is invited by the king to repair to court—His decision—Remonstrances of queen Jeanne and the princes—His honourable reception by king Charles, and restoration to his dignities and offices—Departure of Jeanne d'Albret from La Rochelle for Pau.

Montgomery's terrible justice continued to strike persons, of whatever degree, compromised in the late revolt. If queen Jeanne wished to exact retaliation to the utmost for the heinous offences committed by her turbulent barons, her selection of the stern and able Montgomery, as her lieutenant, had unfailingly accomplished this purpose. His openly expressed determination to punish with the sword every malcon-

tent noble captured in arms, produced a salutary terror on the minds of the rebel barons still at large. De Luxe, that most malignant of traitors, fled for refuge to the Pyreneean fastnesses ; and placed himself under the protection of the Spanish viceroy of Navarre, the duke de Medina Céli. Goas fled to Tarbes, from whence he joined de Luxe. The inhabitants of Lower Navarre, intimidated by the rumour of the vast preparations making by the queen's lieutenant to punish their rebellion, despatched deputies to sue for pardon and amnesty. They engaged to tolerate and protect the ministers of the Reformed Faith ; and to construct a certain number of churches for the purposes of Calvinistic worship.

Montgomery had already despatched Bassillon at the head of a body of troops to take possession of Navarre, when these deputies arrived at Pau ; and the oft-repeated treason of the Navarrais would have been avenged by a bloody expiation, but for an accident which arrested the army in its march. Circumstances occurred which rendered questionable the fidelity of Bassillon to the cause of the queen. He was accused of holding treasonable communications with the marshal de Montluc ; and of even harbouring the design of delivering into the hands of the French the fortress of Navarreins, of which he was commandant. Prompt in all his actions, Montgomery despatched an officer to overtake and deprive Bassillon of the command of the army he was about to lead into Lower Navarre, giving orders

that he should be conducted to Navarreins, where the accusation might be investigated. The envoy, moreover, desired Bassillon, in the name of the count, "to prove to the satisfaction of all men, his loyal adherence to his sovereign lady, the queen."

During the interval between Bassillon's arrest, and his arrival at Navarreins, information was received by Montgomery which confirmed his guilt. The absence of documentary proofs was little heeded by Montgomery; and he, at once, issued his usual unrelenting fiat against the enemies of queen Jeanne. The unfortunate Bassillon, therefore, was stabbed to the heart, as he entered the gates of the fortress.¹ The most humble submission, and pecuniary fines were exacted from all convicted of having even, "spoken of queen Jeanne in terms of contempt." Montgomery himself commanded the sequestration of the revenues of the bishoprics of Lescar and Oléron; of the abbies of Vic and Saubalade, and of all the benefices appertaining thereto; because the ecclesiastics were suspected of having furnished pecuniary loans to the defeated rebels.² He then despatched an envoy to the queen at La Rochelle, praying her majesty to issue a new edict, suppressing the exercise of the Romish faith within her dominions, and confiscating the revenues and benefices of the church. Jeanne was pleased to comply with this request. She, moreover, nominated a commissioner

¹ Olhagaray, *Hist. de Navarre*, p. 620.

² MS. Bibl. Roy. F. de Béth.

to repair to Pau, and to confer with Montgomery on the execution of various projects. The principal articles were contained in a memorandum, written by the queen herself, and which Jeanne commanded her lieutenant to execute before he withdrew his army from Béarn. The queen therein directed the suppression, total and entire, of the Roman Catholic faith ; the convocation of a Synod at Pau, the restoration of all her codes and *ordonnances*, and the re-establishment of her officers of state, and of justice, in their respective posts.

The most important part of the envoy's mission was, the presentation of an amnesty signed by the queen ; a document which Jeanne directed him to deliver to Montgomery, with the injunction that the latter was to delay its publication for as brief a period as possible. This act of grace was extended by Jeanne to her subjects generally ; she excluded from participation in her clemency only, the baron de Luxe, Armand de Gontaut baron d'Audaux, sénéchal of Béarn, the bishop of Oléron, Claude de Régis, and seven magistrates, subjects of Béarn, who had been appointed to that office by Terride, and under whose mandates so many of her subjects had perished. When these, her injunctions, were satisfactorily accomplished, the queen commanded her faithful Montgomery to re-establish d'Arros and the viscount de Montamar as joint lieutenants over Béarn and its dependencies ; and to march with his victorious army to Condom, there to wait her future behests. Her

last command was, the somewhat singular one, that Montgomery before his departure, should cause it to be proclaimed "that the queen forbad any of her loving subjects to recall, or to discourse of the past under penalty of death."¹

This mission was soon accomplished by Montgomery. At the head of his victorious army, he passed from Pau to Mont de Marsan, and from thence, according to the orders of the queen, he intrenched himself at Condom, waiting until Coligny should give the signal for a descent upon Languedoc.

The successes of Montgomery were balanced in a degree to the royalist party by the fortunate issue of the siege of Poitiers, which was valiantly defended against the attack of Coligny, by the young duke de Guise, and by the sanguinary defeat of the admiral at Montcontour, by the army under the duke d'Anjou, October 3rd, 1569. The combat lasted only two hours. Some historians assert, and amongst them, the brave La Noue, who was there taken prisoner, that the battle raged only during the space of half an hour. The defeat of the Huguenots was bloody and complete. The Roman Catholic chieftains performed feats of valour and daring. Montpensier, Cossé, Tavannes, Biron and Martigues, retrieved the discredit fallen on the king's lieutenants in consequence of the extraordinary inertness of their past measures to terminate the war. The duke d'Anjou won fresh laurels on this occasion, by his personal conduct

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret.

during the conflict ; the young prince being unhorsed, and several times exposed to the utmost peril. Coligny was severely wounded by a pistol discharged in his face by the marquis of Baden, commanding the German reiters in the royal army, which shattered his jaw. The admiral unflinchingly maintained himself in his saddle, despite the severity of his wound, and shot his assailant dead on the spot.¹ After the rout of the Huguenot army, a dreadful massacre ensued. The French soldiers, and the German mercenaries butchered the unhappy prisoners, amidst savage shouts of Roche-Abeille ! Sainte Colombe !² “for they perpetrated this great, and terrible carnage,” says La Noue, “under pretext of avenging the death of the barons, and the loss at La Roche-Abeille, and at Orthez.” The duke d’Anjou, to his honour be it told, spared no effort to terminate the horrid spectacle ; his voice being heard in every part of the field, controlling the ferocity of his soldiery.

The shattered army of the princes precipitately retired from the battle-field, and sought refuge at Partheney ; from thence it marched to Niort. The admiral grievously wounded, and scarcely able to articulate, was conveyed thither in a litter. It is impossible to imagine a more cruel position than that

¹ D’Aubigné, Hist. Universelle, liv. 5. p. 306.

Ibid. La Popelinière, liv. 19. fol. 140. The Swiss soldiers, in the vain hope of trying to propitiate their conquerors, knelt on the ground, and with clasped hands, exclaimed : “Bon Papiste, bon Papiste moi !”

in which the brave Coligny found himself. The bloody defeat was ascribed to his imprudence ; and, the grief and anger, in short, every emotion which agitated the minds of his officers, seemed concentrated upon himself. Confined to his couch, and unable to justify himself by word, or by action, Coligny's agitation of mind threatened most alarming results. Relief, however, was not distant ; for the queen of Navarre was already on her road to the camp. The tidings of the defeat of Moncontour were no sooner received by her, than Jeanne d'Albret quitted La Rochelle, and attended only by her usual suite of gentlemen, she traversed the country beset by perils innumerable, and safely arrived at Niort. Coligny received the queen as an angel sent from heaven for his rescue ; and tears bedewed the cheeks of the stern warrior, as he clasped the royal hand stretched so compassionately towards him. "The admiral," says d'Aubigné,¹ "was deserted by his officers and the nobles, who showed no pity for his deplorable condition, and by all his friends, excepting by one woman, who having nothing in common with her sex, except the name of woman, heroically advanced to Niort, to raise up and comfort the afflicted, and to re-establish order in the affairs of the confederates. Jeanne's indignation was greatly excited at the isolation of the admiral ; and she publicly expressed her opinion of the selfish ingratitude of his officers. After the

¹ Hist. Universelle, liv. 5. p. 309. Davila, Hist. des Guerres Civiles, liv. 5.

arrival of the queen, the camp of the confederates resumed its wonted aspect ; her words inspirited the troops ; she held council daily ; and above all, her presence and support cheered the admiral, and exercised the most beneficial influence on his health. "The genius, the valour and the virtue of the illustrious Coligny," exclaimed Jeanne, with generous enthusiasm, "soar above the misfortune which has now smitten him. Let vulgar natures condemn him ; noble and elevated minds will cheer, pity, and console him !"

A council of war, attended by all the confederated princes, and over which Jeanne presided, was holden soon after the arrival of the queen in the camp. Many important resolutions were there adopted. It was determined to despatch envoys to the courts of England, Scotland, Denmark, and Germany, to crave succours for the cause. The queen likewise, decided that from thenceforth her son, and the prince de Condé should share in the perils of the conflict, as she was desirous that they should "become competent and inured to hardships by experience and toils." The admiral, on account of the youth and inexperience of the princes, had hitherto permitted them only to view the battles in which he had been engaged from a distance. The queen herself promised to defend La Rochelle, in case of attack from the duke d'Anjou ; and she selected the count de la Rochefoucauld for her lieutenant in this arduous undertaking. Jeanne then herself proposed that

admirable plan of campaign which ultimately insured the success of the confederate cause.

Another ingredient of discord had meantime risen in the court of Catherine de Medici, creating a diversion in favour of Coligny and his colleagues, and obstructing the vigorous prosecution of the war. This impediment was the jealousy felt by Charles IX. for the military renown of his brother. The coldness of the approbation expressed by the court for the victory gained at Moncontour ; and the vacillating mandates thence transmitted, provoked disunion in the royal camp. The counsels of the brave marshal de Tavannes were unheeded, when he earnestly recommended that pursuit should be made after the remnant of the Huguenot army, until it was exterminated ; and no time be wasted in useless sieges. " We know the character of the admiral de Coligny well," pleaded Tavannes, Cossé, Biron, and the other chieftains. " We know him to be one of the most wary and cunning of commanders, and one who is pre-eminently fitted to retrieve a disaster. If we afford him leisure, he will rally his forces, and form a junction with Montgomery in Languedoc, so that in the spring we shall see him reappear at the head of a fresh army, with which he will ravage our provinces, and perhaps even beard us in Paris itself."¹ This sage counsel was disregarded ; by the peremptory order of the king, the duke d'Anjou besieged St. Jean d'Angely ; while Charles announced his

¹ Mém. de François, sieur de la Noue, chap. xxvii.

intention of arriving speedily in camp to superintend the operations of the siege. Already the paroxysms of fiery wrath in which the king indulged were dreaded by his mother; but with consummate address Catherine yielded apparent acquiescence, while studying the foibles of her son's character, until she achieved the art of governing his wayward temper, and of subduing his fitful passion by the fascination almost of her own even tones.

The queen of Navarre, therefore, proposed, as a plan of campaign, to leave the towns garrisoned by Huguenot troops to their own resources, and to attempt the relief of none. She proudly directed the attention of the chiefs of the council to her army of the Viscounts, under Montgomery, flushed by recent success, admirably disciplined, and waiting her orders at Condom. She proposed that Coligny should march his army to winter in Languedoc after uniting his standard with that of Montgomery; and that the campaign of 1570 should open by an attack on Languedoc, and the conquest of the towns on the Rhone, and so transfer the theatre of war from the south western provinces of France. The proposal was unanimously acceded to; the admiral departed from Niort, October 18th, penetrated into Saintonge, and reached Agen in safety: "this our escape was owing to the imprudence of the Catholics," writes La Noue,¹ "they despised our prowess; but like a ball of snow they allowed us to roll along the

¹ Mém. de François, sieur de la Noue, chap. xxix.

ground while gradually our dimensions augmented, until we had grown into a mass, the size of a house."

The queen, accompanied by the count de la Rochefoucauld, retired to La Rochelle; the town was re-victualled; and vast stores of arms and ammunition were amassed by the provident foresight of Jeanne, should the siege of the place be resolved upon by the royal forces.

Amidst the exciting cares of her daily life, Jeanne still found leisure to pursue her theological studies. La Rochelle was the refuge of many ministers, who had fled thither to avoid tortures on the scaffold. Under Jeanne's auspices, the chaplains attached to her household had commenced a translation of the New Testament into the Basque dialect; which the queen destined for the special instruction of her subjects of Lower Navarre. The intestine troubles which convulsed Béarn, having interrupted the labours of Jeanne's chaplains, the queen, about this period, expressed a desire that the work should be concluded. She nominated an eloquent minister, of the name of Leçarague, to superintend the translation; and his fiat was to be decisive on any disputed point, during the prosecution of the task. This Testament was published at La Rochelle during the following year. Several copies of it are still extant; and its execution affords honourable testimony of the diligence and learning of queen Jeanne and her chaplains. The queen daily attended the

afternoon sermon, preached by her chaplains in rotation. Often, however, weary with the excess of her mental labours, and lulled by the drowsy intonation of some of these ministers, the queen slept during part of the discourse. Jeanne always felt severe reproach of conscience when she had involuntarily yielded to fatigue; and finding the inclination grow upon her, she demanded permission from the Synod to work tapestry during the sermon. This request was willingly granted; and from thenceforth, queen Jeanne, bending decorously over her tapestry frame, and busy with her needle, gave due attention to the rambling addresses of her ministers.¹

Meantime, the royal army was wasting its strength before St. Jean d'Angely; which proved as disastrous an undertaking to king Charles, as the siege of Poitiers had been to Coligny. The towns of Partheney, Niort, Fontenoy, Châtellerault, and others yielded, when summoned by the duke d'Anjou; the Angoumois was subdued: nevertheless, in the south, Coligny and Montgomery defied the king's lieutenants, and ravaged the country with remorseless fury. A design was also formed by Tavannes, and the duke d'Anjou, to surprise La Rochelle, by means of traitorous intelligences, which they had established in the town. The conspiracy

¹ Mathieu, *Hist. de France* (Règne de Charles IX.), liv. 5. Mathieu is the historian who first applied to queen Jeanne the words of Quintus Curtius, "*Nihil præter vultum fœmineum gerens.*"

was discovered in time, and defeated by the vigilance of the queen, and her lieutenant, La Rochefoucauld ; but its details are not on record.

The battle of Moncontour had been followed by another insurrection in Béarn and Lower Navarre. The baron de Luxe raised again the standard of revolt in the Basque provinces, encouraged by an intimation from the duke d'Anjou, that he was about to send thither puissant succours. The marshal de Montluc also fanned the flame of revolt ; and engaged to take Béarn with a strong detachment of troops—a promise which he would undoubtedly have fulfilled, had not the menacing attitude of the army of the Viscounts restrained his malevolent intent. As an encouragement to the rebel lords, however, he advanced, and stormed the town of Rabesteins, which he took by assault, putting to death every individual of its garrison. At this assault, Montluc received a wound in the face, which disfigured him in so terrible a manner, that ever afterwards, he was compelled to wear a velvet mask. D'Arros, and Montamar, gathered their troops, and marched upon the town of Tarbes, which had opened its gate to de Luxe, determined to crush the rebellion at its commencement.

The rebels, de Luxe, and the barons de Podens and d'Audaux, had fortified themselves strongly in the town, and were prepared to defend their position to the last. Montamar, however, to the confusion of the rebels, proved to be a warrior of Montgom-

mery's energy. One summons was given to the citizens of Tarbes, to submit to the queen's generals : its rejection was followed by an attack upon the city, which was carried by assault, and subjected to the same terrible penalties as the town of Orthez. Tarbes was then burned to the ground, by command of Montamar.¹ De Luxe managed to escape during the combat ; he fled to the mountains, and finally found refuge in the town of St. Jean-Pied-de-Port, under the protection of the Spanish government. The baron de Podens remained a prisoner in the hands of Montamar, who condemned him to perpetual imprisonment at Navarreins. The extensive estates of de Luxe were declared confiscated ; his castles and villages were burned to the ground ; and his lands ravaged, by the orders of the queen's lieutenants. The sentence of confiscation and attainder was confirmed by Jeanne, when the matter was referred for her pleasure thereon. The baron de Luxe never recovered his wealth, which the queen firmly refused to restore, though afterwards warmly solicited to do so by Catherine de Medici.

The effects of this rash rebellion fell heavily on the Roman Catholic portion of Jeanne's subjects of Béarn, whose position it had been intended to ame-

¹ "Ainsi Tarbes," says the historian Olhagaray, "qui s'étoit réjouie et enrichie du sac de Béarn, fut rendue misérable, et brulée bientôt après." Many of the rebel chieftains were killed during the conflict in the streets of Tarbes. The abbé de Saubalade, Bonasse, and the captain Sguarebaque, one of the chief leaders of the seditious populace of Oléron, perished.

liorate. The queen determined to temporize no longer with subjects whose obstinate rebellion defied alike every measure of conciliation, and of stern justice, that she had adopted. Believing that the designs of the rebels were fomented and countenanced by the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of the principality, she despatched a mandate, addressed to her lieutenants, d'Arros and de Montamar, requiring them to issue decrees expelling from the territory of Béarn, all Roman Catholic prelates, priests, and monks, whom she calls, in the edict, "enemies of the state, and her own." She excepts only those ecclesiastics who were willing to take solemn oath in presence of her lieutenants, to conform to the existing order of affairs in the principality. The queen promises to all such ecclesiastics, who are willing to join the reformed communion, the tranquil enjoyment of their several benefices. Upon non-beneficed ecclesiastics, Jeanne engages to bestow adequate preferment, on their abjuration. Finally, the queen solemnly renewed her prohibition of the Romish worship in Béarn. This edict produced marvellous results; numbers of the ecclesiastics of Béarn hastened to abjure the Romish Faith. The laity, wearied with the wars, and the consequent horrible slaughters, offered prompt submission. Scarcely one of the Béarnois adhered to the Romish communion. Those who still clung to the faith of their fathers, were regarded, by the queen's direction, as personages defunct. Their posts were distributed

to others; and the lands which they possessed in the principality were allotted to their nearest heir, who professed the dominant faith. The queen strictly forbade any executions for heresy. In the records of the public administration of Jeanne d'Albret, not a single case occurs; all those who, despite her tolerance continued to intrigue with covert treachery for her overthrow, Jeanne punished with fines and banishment.

The town of St. Jean d'Angely capitulated to the king on the 2nd of December, after a siege of two months, during which his majesty lost ten thousand troops, and one of his bravest generals, Sebastian de Luxembourg, viscount de Martigues. Charles, accompanied by the queen his mother, the duke d'Anjou, and the cardinal de Lorraine, made his entry into the town on the following day.¹ Notwithstanding his military ardour, Charles had soon wearied of the monotony of the camp. The perpetual presence of his mother, and the duke d'Anjou annoyed and vexed him. He felt that although he bore the name of king, the authority of the sovereign office was virtually vested in other hands. Jealous and discontented, Charles retired to Angers; for that mysterious fascination which Catherine's manner ever presented, yet imposed upon her unhappy son.

The battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, and the capture of St. Jean d'Angely proved to the Roman Catholics rather a subject for self-laudation, than of

¹ Mém. de Michel de Castelnau, liv. 7. chap. x. De Thou.

profit. The miserable condition of the country, the exhausted finances, the menaces of Coligny and Montgomery, who were still unsubdued and powerful, the threats of queen Elizabeth and the Protestant states of Europe to arm for the triumph of the cause throughout France, produced a powerful impression on the mind of Catherine de Medici. The dissensions of the court, the jealousy which reigned between King Charles and his brother, and the king's impatient endurance of his mother's control, all acted as warnings to Catherine to adjust affairs, while the power to do so remained in her hands. The great nobles were disaffected, and many even professed in secret the Protestant Faith, against which they were called to combat. The duke de Guise, chief of that race, whose fiat made or destroyed the last kings of the house of Valois, had received mortal offence in the refusal of the king to bestow upon him the hand of his beautiful sister, Marguerite de Valois, once the betrothed bride of Henri de Navarre. To escape from the violent death, which the imprudent Charles had been rash enough to menace him with, the duke hastily espoused Catherine de Cleves,¹ widow of the

¹ Catherine de Cleves, comtesse d'Eu, second daughter of the duke de Nevers and Marguerite de Bourbon, the sister of Antoine, king of Navarre. She espoused Antoine de Croy, prince de Porcien, a famed Huguenot leader. The prince died in 1564, making, it is recorded, as his last request, that his young and wealthy widow would refrain from bestowing her hand upon his enemy, Henri duc de Guise, in case she was solicited to do so, as the prince predicted would be the case.

prince of Porcien—an illustrious alliance, but one inferior to the pretensions of the family, whose aim was to establish itself upon the throne of St. Louis. The quarrels of the Italian adventurers, such as Gondy, de Retz, and Birague, who followed Catherine into France, and whom the queen had forced into the ranks of the French nobles, then the most exclusive and princely aristocracy in Europe, augmented the embarrassments of the realm. Peace had now become necessary for a season to Catherine de Medici; and she felt neither shame nor reluctance in being the first to propose negotiations.

Michel de Castelnau, seigneur de la Mauvissière, whose dexterous tact had so often opposed with success the diplomacy of the English cabinet, was the agent chosen by the queen to effect her project. Castelnau was, therefore, despatched to La Rochelle, to demand in the queen's name, admission to the presence of Jeanne d'Albret, whom all parties recognized as the chief and representative of the Huguenot cause. His mission occurred in December of the year 1569. Castelnau readily obtained audience: he was commissioned by Catherine to represent to Jeanne d'Albret, "that her majesty desired to be affectionately commended to the queen of Navarre; secondly, that being well disposed to promote her interest and repose, as well as that of the country at large, the queen promised to obtain from the king her son, favourable terms of peace for the queen of Navarre, and for her adherents, provided,

that acting like good, loyal, and dutiful subjects, they would petition his majesty, and present for his acceptance reasonable articles of accommodation.¹"

Feeling much astonishment at this overture, Jeanne replied with great caution ; after tendering her thanks for queen Catherine's expressions of friendship, she added, "that she was herself inspired with a most ardent desire for the success of the overture of peace, which it had pleased her majesty, the queen-mother, to make." She then boldly expressed to Castelnau her distrust of the court, and her doubts that any sincere desire for peace could be entertained, while the cardinal de Lorraine remained in the cabinet. "At this very moment, monseigneur, that you are deputed to propose to me peace, the agents of the French court are at work to frustrate the attempt. Witness the intrigues of the ambassador Fourquevaulx, at Madrid ; those of the emissaries of the cardinal de Lorraine, in Rome ; the secret intelligences which the court maintains with the duke of Alba ! They have also stirred up a faction to revolt in the realm of England, to prevent any assistance from that quarter being afforded to us !" Jeanne, having thus expressed her sentiments, and asserted her disbelief in the sincerity of Catherine's overtures, abruptly brought the conference to a conclusion by saying, "that she would despatch a courier to the army of the Princes, with information of her majesty's condescending overture ; that they might forthwith draw

¹ Mém. de Castelnau, liv. 7. chap. x.

up articles embodying their just demands, the which she would forward without delay to the court.”¹ The army lay in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, when Jeanne’s envoy, the baron de Beauvoir reached this camp. At a council, hastily summoned, the princes, with Coligny and Montgomery, drew up this memorial, which stated, “that the queen of Navarre, the princes, and the Huguenots generally, supplicated his majesty to grant them the unrestricted exercise of their religion everywhere throughout the kingdom; to annul all legal proceedings against them; to give his royal assent and countenance to all enterprises undertaken by them, within, or without, the limits of the realm; with the unconditional restitution of their estates, honours, and dignities.” Upon these conditions, the princes declared themselves willing to lay down arms, and to make submission to the king.² The document was forwarded to La Rochelle, for the sanction of the queen. Jeanne confirmed it without hesitation; and she despatched de Beauvoir, and Taligny, son-in-law of Coligny, to convey it to their majesties, who were then sojourning at Angers.

The anger of queen Catherine was extreme. The demands of Coligny, and his captains, seemed almost ironical, in the extent of the concessions prayed for. The king at once rejected the ultimatum of the princes: yet, Catherine still hoped to impose on the queen of Navarre, by the plausible gloss which

¹ Mém. de Castelnau, liv. 7, chap. x.

² Davila. De Thou. Aubigné.

no one knew better than herself how to impart to a document of state. The marshal de Biron, and the seigneur de Mesmes, were, therefore, instructed to proceed to La Rochelle, and inform the queen of Navarre of the rejection of the memorial sent by the princes; and to offer, in the name of the king, the following terms: first, that his majesty was willing to permit the private exercise of the Lutheran faith, and to guarantee his royal protection to its adherents. He consented, moreover, to cede to his Protestant subjects, two towns of the realm, where they might worship as seemed good to them, without molestation; his majesty reserving to himself the right of nominating the governor of such towns, so ceded. The king, also, promised the restoration of their wealth, houses, and dignities, provided that the Huguenots dispersed, and retired to their respective homes within a given period.¹ The queen of Navarre coldly remarked, that the response of the court was what she had expected, and consistent with its disastrous policy. The marshal then proceeded to the camp of the admiral at St. Etienne de Forêts. Coligny, still suffering from the severe wound he had received at Moncontour, greeted the envoy with his accustomed *sang-froid*. He replied to the communication, by observing, "that to induce the council of the king to do justice to his majesty's subjects of the Reformed Faith, it was evidently necessary that the army should approach the gates of Paris, so that the court might

¹ Mém. de Castelnau, liv. 7. De Thou, liv. 47.

personally experience some of the miseries and horrors of war.”¹ Although Jeanne never believed in the sincerity of the court, she yet conceived it her duty to promote the conclusion of peace by every means in her power. She, therefore, addressed a letter to Charles, setting forth the reasons which ought to induce him to condescend to the demands of her Protestant subjects. At the same time, she wrote to Catherine, to decline to interfere with the measures adopted by her lieutenants in Béarn, in respect to the baron de Luxe. Catherine had been requested to mediate between Jeanne and her turbulent subject, by the baron de Lansac, whose daughter² de Luxe had espoused. The letter of the baron is curious and peremptory ; and he alludes with great asperity to the proceedings of the queen of Navarre. He writes thus :

THE BARON DE LANSAC TO QUEEN CATHERINE
DE MEDICI.

MADAME,

Understanding that M. de Villeroy is about to visit your majesties,³ I have requested him to remind you (before the conclusion of a treaty of peace, with the Huguenots, a thing greatly to be desired by your majesty, and by all your faithful subjects) of the claims of poor monsieur de Luxe, and of those of his party, who out of respect, and

¹ Mém. de Castelnau, liv. 7. De Thou, liv. 47.

² Claude de St. Gelais.

³ The court was sojourning at Châteaubriand, “pour prendre le plaisir de la chasse, et se donner du bon temps.”

obedience to your commands, have sacrificed their persons and friends. I assure you, madame, that this loyal service has already cost my son-in-law, M. de Luxe, more than the sum of 50,000 livres: moreover, if he is bereaved of your potent protection, and abandoned to the discretion of the queen of Navarre, the best he can expect is the loss of his life, and of whatever property he may still possess. I very humbly, therefore, beseech your majesty, to take pity upon him, and not forget his case. I pray you also, to remember, madame, that in obedience to your command, I bestowed upon him my daughter. I write, therefore, in certain hope that your majesty will not consent that M. de Luxe should be put to shame, and ruined for having only too faithfully obeyed your command: it would, moreover, afford a precedent most pernicious to your service.

Madame, I pray God to grant you good, and perfect health, with a long and prosperous life.

From Paris this 1st day of April, 1570.

Your majesty's humble subject, and very obedient,
and obliged servant,

LANSAC.¹

Jeanne properly proved inexorable in her decision respecting the baron; for many years afterwards de Luxe led a roving life, chiefly dependent for subsistence on the bounty of Philip of Spain, and of his father-in-law.

The country adjacent to La Rochelle, meantime, continued to be ravaged by combats between the rival factions. The honours of war rested chiefly

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy.—Inedited. This letter affords very convincing evidence of Catherine's intelligence with queen Jeanne's rebel subjects.

with the Huguenots, under the valliant La Noue. On the 12th of June, 1570, La Noue gained a decisive victory over the Catholic army, commanded by Puy-Gailliard, at Ste. Gemme, a village close to the town of Luçon. The slaughter was great; and five hundred men, chiefly officers, were left on the field of battle. La Noue himself was wounded by a ball, which fractured his right arm, and compelled him to relinquish his command, and retire to La Rochelle. He was welcomed with enthusiasm by Jeanne and the Rochellois; every care was lavished upon him, and his sufferings were sorrowed for as a public calamity. The skill of the queen's physicians, however, was exercised in vain; the wound mortified; and, at length, it was announced to La Noue that he must undergo amputation of the arm, to afford him even a chance of life. This was a terrible fiat for one of the bravest warriors of France. For long, La Noue resolutely refused to submit to the operation, preferring, as he declared, to die rather than to accept of existence, a maimed and disabled man. Every hour lost in debate and entreaty, increased the peril of his case; some of the friends of La Noue, therefore, appealed to the queen, and besought her interference. In a brief space of time, Jeanne stood by the bedside of the wounded man, consoling his grief, and gently chiding his impatience.

“Valiant La Noue,” exclaimed the queen, “ought you to hesitate in this matter? If you refuse to yield to the entreaties of your friends, your death is

certain, and you are lost for ever to our cause, to our brothers-in-arms, and to the faith which you have maintained by your courage, and honoured by your virtue. If, on the contrary, you consent to follow the advice of men skilled in their art; if you will heed the voice of friendship, and the demands of duty, the precious life may perhaps be spared, which serves as an example to our warriors, and a support to our holy cause. Beloved La Noue, a hero so dear to his country and to his friends, ought, when in peril to welcome every ray of hope; if after all he succumbs, he carries with him to the tomb the consciousness of having fulfilled his duty to the last!"

Vanquished by the words, and by the emotion manifested by his beloved mistress, La Noue promised to afflict her no longer by his refusals; and he signified his intention of submitting himself to the knife of the surgeons. A sign from the queen brought the latter to La Noue's couch. Jeanne, with her own hands, then tenderly laid bare the wound, and with heroic fortitude, she supported the arm whilst the surgeon performed the operation, encouraging the sufferer the while, with words of most cheering comfort.¹ In after life, when La Noue recounted the act of devoted sympathy, which he had received from the queen of Navarre, tears of profound emotion rose; his gratitude was unbounded; and manifested itself by numberless acts of loyal

¹ Moyse Amyrant—Vie de La Noue.

service. During La Noue's convalescence, the queen continued her friendly care ; she sought out a famous machinist, who fabricated an iron arm, most ingeniously contrived, so that La Noue was enabled to guide his horse. From thenceforth, he acquired the appellation of La Noue *bras de fer*.

Soon after the combat of Ste. Gemme, the queen one day quitted La Rochelle, and proceeded for change of air and exercise, to a place called La Font, about half a league from the city, intending to spend a night there. Some unknown reason, after her arrival, however, induced the queen to return in the evening to the safe shelter of La Rochelle ; and very fortunate, as it proved, was her decision. One of the emissaries of Puy-Gailliard, who was defeated at Ste. Gemme by La Noue, informed that officer of Jeanne's intended *sortie*. Burning to wipe away the disgrace of defeat, Gailliard quitted St. Jean d'Angely, where he had taken refuge after the combat, and marched during the night upon La Font, with a body of seven hundred cavalry, intending to surprise and capture the queen. When Gailliard arrived at La Font, Jeanne was abiding in safety within the citadel of La Rochelle ; but the attempt, though frustrated, confirmed the queen and the Huguenot party in their opinion of the perfidious designs of the court. No faith, as queen Jeanne observed, could be reposed in the honour of Catherine de Medici ; at the time when most deluding by her blandishments, and apparent frankness, the queen designed to prevail by craft, or

by sudden violence. Even when she professed an earnest desire for peace and unity, and tried to accomplish the object, she secretly abetted measures to overthrow the party she avowed a wish to conciliate. This incident made a deep impression upon Jeanne d'Albret, and she never subsequently quitted the walls of La Rochelle without sufficient escort.

The princes, meantime, continued their victorious route, traversing the provinces of Languedoc, Gasconne, Dauphiné, Champagne, and Burgundy, without meeting obstacle to check the ravages of their troops. They left the country behind them burned; the inhabitants decimated; the churches destroyed; and the towns deserted and battered. The marshal de Cossé was despatched to oppose their progress; he effected nothing; and on the 25th of June, the admiral encamped his army at Arnay-le-Duc, and prepared to offer combat. The panic was overwhelming in Paris; all subordination was at an end; the people prepared to flee from the capital, as on the memorable advance of Charles V. to Epernay, in the reign of Francis I. Catherine, dejected, yet beside herself with rage and meditated revenge, perceived then, that nothing but the apparent concession of the king to the demands of the Huguenots could save the capital, or relieve her government from its embarrassments.

So efficiently had Catherine's policy of extermination served her, that there now remained two only

of the numerous rival claimants for power, who had beset her son's throne on his accession. These two personages were the queen of Navarre, and the admiral de Coligny. That the peace which the court now found itself compelled to grant, was only conceded under the firm intent of renewing hostilities on the first favourable opportunity, cannot be questioned; the same spirit of dissimulation, and the same intent, inspired Catherine, when she signed the peace of Orleans, in 1563, and that of Longjumeau, or Chartres, in 1568. The plan of a general massacre of the Huguenot chieftains had, at this period, certainly been discussed in detail by the queen and the Spanish council, through the duke of Alba. The design, however, though it existed in theory, had received no definite realization. It was afterwards executed on the fatal eve of St. Bartholomew, 1572, on a sudden impulse, arising from an imaginary peril, and before its different details had received the requisite organization. The atrocious deed, therefore, like most of the schemes of the cabinet presided over by Catherine de Medici, though fraught with bloodshed and woe, failed to accomplish the object of its unscrupulous originators. Above all, the massacre realized not the secret objects aimed at by Catherine de Medici. The destruction of the enemies of the church of Rome, was not the design dominating in the mind of the queen, when she sanctioned the persecution of the Huguenots, but the overthrow of the great political party, professing

liberal opinions, civil and religious, headed by the prince of Navarre. Astrology was the only revelation implicitly believed in by the niece of two pontiffs, Leo X. and Clement VII. It had been predicted to Catherine, by every professor of the occult sciences, whom her fears led her to consult, that Henry, the son of Jeanne d'Albret, would triumphantly ascend the throne of the Valois. Catherine now beheld prince Henry at the head of an army of indomitable valour, commanded by able chieftains, who, after two nominal defeats, at Jarnac and Montcontour, yet rallied in renewed vigour, and marched through 300 leagues of country, garrisoned by the flower of the French army, and encamped only sixty miles from the gates of Paris! Catherine dreaded lest the heir of her hated rival should despoil her own luxurious and incompetent sons of their kingly heritage, rather than that the authority of the see of Rome should falter. More than this, Charles IX. had prohibited the duke d'Anjou, with a vehemence bordering on frenzy, from assuming any command whatever over his armies, in case the war continued. Another acute pang thenceforth agitated the heart of the ambitious Catherine; for she foresaw that the general of the royal army, whom the king insisted on nominating of his own unbiassed will, in case of the successful conduct of the war, would at once become her formidable and dangerous rival.

The envoys of the queen of Navarre, Teligni, the baron Beauvoir, la Noue, Cavagnes, and la Chassetière,

still lingered at court. Charles seemed imbued with reckless indifference, as to the conduct of the war, and his mother's proceedings. He hunted in the dense forests which then covered the province of Bretagne—for his majesty was then the guest of the count de Châteaubriand,—he played at tennis sometimes for four hours together. His sarcasms on his brother's battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, and his allusions to the superiority of the Huguenot chieftains over his own generals, alarmed the queen. She knew that this carelessness of demeanour concealed feelings of poignant irritation, which needed but one trivial incitement to break forth with vehement fury, and overwhelm every supposed, as well as existing impediment to the prosperity of his realm. Catherine knew her son too well to doubt that if the will possessed him, no considerations for herself, or for his brothers, would prevent Charles from installing the queen of Navarre, and her party, in the highest posts of the realm. She recoiled repeatedly under Charles's taunting allusions to the superiority of the young Henri de Navarre,—his abilities, frankness, and principles—to his own brothers, whom Catherine had trained in the arts of servile expediency and treachery. "Henry alone of my royal House loves me, and I love him," were often known to be the concluding words of many conferences, after which, Charles, his lips pale and trembling with rage, quitted his mother's cabinet. Maddened frequently by Catherine's sarcasms, and by the suspicions which she

infused into his mind, the unfortunate Charles, believing himself surrounded by traitors and assassins, fled from his miserable thoughts, cursing the destiny which had made him a king, and sought refuge in intemperate and dissolute pleasures. For several days consecutively, when under the influence of this dark spell, he would ride frantically from forest to forest, in pursuit of the boar; his features sunken, and of leaden hue, his brow contracted, and his eyes expressive of such concentrated fury, that when in these moods, no one—not even his mother herself, dared to accost him. After one of these paroxysms, the reaction too surely came: the unhappy Charles, exhausted in body and mentally spent, lamenting, and too often vainly, the deeds perpetrated during his period of insensate fury, became an easy victim to the wiles of the party dominant at court.

The peace, therefore, when it became queen Catherine's will to negotiate it, was soon adjusted. The plenipotentiaries appointed by king Charles, were Henri de Mesmes, seigneur de Roissy, count de Malassise, and the marshal de Biron.¹ The articles were as follows: permission was guaranteed to the Huguenots to celebrate their worship, publicly, in the faubourgs of two towns in every province throughout the realm. Every individual was declared to be at liberty to profess the Reformed Faith, without dread

¹ This peace was wittily nicknamed "Paix Boiteuse et Malassise," from the two royal plenipotentiaries who concluded it, Biron, who was lame, and de Mesmes, seigneur de Malassise.

of persecution. The Huguenots were to be admitted, upon equal rights with their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, to partake in the benefit of all public institutions; they were likewise declared eligible to fill every post in the state. The king engaged to publish a general amnesty for all past offences; and to declare the queen of Navarre, her son, and the prince of Condé his loyal and faithful subjects. All estates confiscated were to be restored. The king, moreover, permitted his Protestant subjects of the south to appeal from the judgment of the parliament of Toulouse, hitherto irrevocable, to his majesty's Masters of request. Finally, the king consented to permit the Huguenots to retain possession of the towns of La Rochelle, Cognac, Charité, and Montauban, conquests achieved by their arms, on condition that the princes of Navarre and Condé, with forty of the Huguenot chieftains, bound themselves to restore these towns to the crown of France, two years after the faithful execution of this edict of pacification."

"A peace of such a nature," says the Jesuit Maimbourg, approvingly, "was not in reality contemplated by Catherine de Medici. This princess had her designs in reserve, and she only granted the Huguenots their demands in order to disarm them, and to surprise those on whom she desired to be revenged, and specially the admiral, on the first favourable opportunity."

The parliament confirmed the edict, three days after it had received the royal assent, at St. Germain.¹

¹ Journal de Brulart

It was conveyed by Téligny to the camp of the princes, and published there, on the 11th of August, 1570. The baron Beauvoir, la Noue and La Chassetière, secretary to the Prince of Navarre, departed with the edict for La Rochelle. The queen of Navarre received these, the concessions extorted from the fears of Catherine de Medici, with distrust and reluctance. Jeanne almost unerringly read the mind and actions of queen Catherine: she knew that the latter never forgave those whom she feared. "Can the queen, who never has pardoned, pardon me?" exclaimed she to the admiral, when, some months after, Coligny pressed her to repair to the court. Jeanne looked upon a peace so concluded—concessions indignantly rejected three months previously, and accepted at the present time without protest—as a calamity presaging darker destruction. The temper of the Huguenot army, nevertheless, was decidedly adverse to a prolongation of the contest, now that toleration for their faith had been virtually conceded. As Frenchmen, they deplored the lamentable condition to which their country was reduced; as husbands, fathers, and masters, but one feeling actuated the bosom of both chieftains and soldiers,—that of being restored to their families, and to their homes. The peace, therefore, was proclaimed with great solemnities, in the grand square of the citadel of La Rochelle, in the presence of queen Jeanne and her court, on the 26th day of August, 1570. The queen's chaplain, Le Nord, then read prayers, and

offered the accustomed admonition to the people. The guns on the ramparts were fired; the bells of the churches pealed; the people uttering hearty *vivas* for king Charles, the queen of Navarre, and her gallant son.¹ The following day, all things resumed their accustomed gloom in La Rochelle, as if no tidings of peace had roused a thrill of joy in the breast of its warlike citizens. The queen, unhappy and pre-occupied, refrained from showing herself in public. A thousand fears and anxieties distracted Jeanne's mind: the confederacy of the princes and their allies dissolved, her son, at the mercy of the court, would have no resource, save in his mother's energy and foresight. Not the least of Jeanne's care, was the fact that her suspicions of the good faith of the court, and her forebodings for the future, were lightly regarded by Coligny. Ever sanguine, the admiral persisted in his opinion, that it was the secret resolve of the young king to place himself at the head of a powerful party of the Huguenot faction, and by their support to emancipate himself from the control of his mother and her favourites. Jeanne understood better the stormy passions, and the chaos of conflicting feelings of good and evil preponderance which agitated the mind of the miserable Charles. She had seen him goaded to anger, almost insensate, against the very men whom, in reality, he respected and loved. For the Huguenots, therefore, to place their confidence in the favour of such a

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret, t. II. Favyn, liv. 14.

sovereign, Jeanne knew to be both delusive and perilous.

Four days after the publication of the edict of pacification, Jeanne addressed a letter of congratulation to king Charles, whom she regarded with feelings of sincere commiseration. Its tenor shows, that when she deemed it requisite, the sage Jeanne d'Albret could abound in phrases of politic compliment.

QUEEN JEANNE TO CHARLES IX.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I cannot express to your majesty the general satisfaction, and pleasure which has resulted from the publication of the peace, that it has pleased God, and you sire, to give to us. We all place our only hope in your goodness, and your prudence, that the effect of this, your said edict, will augment the joy which inspires every one here, and unite your humble and obedient subjects in piety and justice under the authority of your sceptre; the which, sire, will render your majesty's reign happy, long and prosperous, under the favour and blessing of God, the mighty King of Kings. Having expressed to your majesty the content which actuates every one, I will now attempt to describe my own satisfaction, which for many reasons is infinite; but more especially from the intimation which it has pleased you, sire, to make to me, of your confidence and trust in my loyal fidelity to your crown, the which gracious hope on your part, Monseigneur, I promise never to disappoint. Monsieur le Premier,¹ will doubtless have

¹ Probably the queen alludes to M. de Biron, the king's chief envoy for the negotiation of the peace with the Huguenots.

informed you, monseigneur, besides this, that I now write of the pleasure and content written on every face; and what great joy the fortunate results of his holy, and much desired negotiation has given to all. He will also impart to you divers especial matters, which my duty to you, sire, urged me to confide. I will also, humbly pray your majesty to accept my words as arising from the hearty desire which inspires me to honour and obey you. Monseigneur, I have already satisfactorily replied to that which you commanded the sieur de Beauvoir to say to me on your behalf, the which was confirmed to me, by Monsieur le Premier. I will not, therefore, allude more to this subject except to beseech your majesty to do me the honour to believe that you have no subject, or servant, within this realm over whom you exercise more influence, and who is inspired with greater desire to devote every thing to your service than her, who having commended herself to your favour, supplicates that the Almighty will augment his blessings, and bestow upon you, a long and happy life.

From La Rochelle, this 30th day of August.

Your very humble, and very obedient aunt and subject,

JEHANNE.¹

If Charles' ambassadors had taken note of the demeanour of the Rochellois, their report, if truthfully made, must have informed his majesty, that despite his edict, and queen Jeanne's exaggerated expressions, no cordiality or trust existed between the

¹ Bibl. Roy. MS. F. de Dupuy, 209, 210, 211, fol. 44.—In-edited.

two recently reconciled factions. The gates of La Rochelle were not the less guarded ; nor, even in the interior of the town, nor in the port and quays, were there any signs of abated activity. Warlike stores continued to arrive, and to be accepted with alacrity. The princes, and Coligny, Montgommery, Teligny, and the count Louis of Nassau, after having taken leave of count Wolrad Mansfeld, and the German mercenaries, at Langres, instead of availing themselves of the eager invitation of the king to visit St. Germain, repaired to the court of the queen of Navarre. The sombre suspicion which weighed upon all, was not diminished, when it was known that Philip II. had offered to the king a force of three thousand horse, and six thousand infantry, "provided that the king engaged never to make peace with the heretic rebels of his realm."¹ Couriers almost daily arrived at La Rochelle, bringing letters from Catherine to the queen of Navarre, containing pressing invitations to visit her ; and filled with expressions of esteem and friendship. The particular occasion upon which Catherine desired to welcome the queen and her son, was during the festivities to be holden at court, in celebration of the nuptials of Charles IX. with Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. Jeanne never relinquished the idea, that Catherine wished to deprive her of liberty, or to obtain some ungenerous advantage, by the warmth with which she solicited her presence at court. The

¹ Mém. de Castelnau, liv. 7.

king had, as yet, very imperfectly executed the clauses of the edict of pacification. The Huguenots were not molested in the exercise of their religion within the bounds prescribed; but massacres of these unfortunate people still occasionally occurred; and these outrages, the law took no pains to avenge. Queen Jeanne, therefore, excused herself from being present at Charles' espousals. She alleged the unsettled condition of the country; "for," said Jeanne, "the populace, excited by the past troubles, will not willingly see me travel, attended by a numerous escort of armed men; while, the state of the roads, infested by banditti, permits me not to attempt the journey, surrounded only by my ordinary suite."¹

The prolonged sojourn of the queen and the princes at La Rochelle gave intense umbrage to the court. Catherine was determined to compel the Huguenots to quit their refuge, or at any rate to assume a less menacing attitude. Charles, on his part, did all in his power to reassure them, whether sincerely or otherwise can never be solved. He frequently corresponded with Coligny, using towards the veteran admiral the most endearing and filial expressions; he publicly reprimanded the duke d'Anjou for the caustic malice which he evidenced towards the Protestant party; and he repressed Catherine's enterprises. The king frequently exclaimed, "that he was sickened of war; and that he had been deceived

¹ Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret*, t. II.

in all that related to his good subjects, the Huguenots." Yet Charles jested, played, threatened, and cajoled, without once giving satisfactory demonstration of the sincerity of his placable intention towards his persecuted subjects. "Sire," said the Admiral, in a letter written to the king, "to inspire your subjects with confidence and faith in your gracious intentions, it is necessary that you should yourself set the example of observing your own edict. Show to your courtiers that you are resolved to punish its infringement, even by those nearest to you."

It was at length determined to send the marshal de Cossé to La Rochelle to seek another interview with the queen, to learn from her majesty's own lips why she refused to proceed to court. Catherine, at the same time, with that incredible disregard of policy and combination apparent in most of her schemes, commanded the marquis de Villars, the king's lieutenant in Guyenne, to advance towards La Rochelle with the army under his command. Cossé was, likewise, commissioned to sound the disposition of queen Jeanne as to a renewal of the alliance once proposed between her son, and Marguerite de Valois, the king's sister. Catherine's political art shone conspicuously in the faculty which she possessed of governing individuals by a subtle adaptation of her schemes to their besetting passions. She knew that the legitimate aggrandizement of her idolized son, was the ruling motive of many of Jeanne's actions; hence, therefore, her offer of

bestowing her daughter on the son of the princess whose interests had clashed with, and in many instances marred her own, from the earliest period of her arrival in France. The queen, likewise, knew that the project which monopolized the chivalrous spirit of Coligny, was a campaign in Flanders to assist the Protestants against their persecutor, the duke of Alba; and to re-establish the prince of Orange and his brother, the count de Nassau in their estates and dignities. Catherine, therefore, commanded Cossé gravely to discuss the possibility of this expedition with Coligny; while she secretly derided the credulity which could accord credit to any project so chimerical as a rupture between the court of France, and its trusted ally the Spanish king.

The marshal de Cossé was introduced into the presence of the queen, whom he found surrounded by many goodly personages and learned ministers. He unfolded his errand, commencing by some complimentary allusions, to which the queen replied in a few apt and courteous words. Cossé then harangued the queen at length on the subject of his mission. In eloquent language he assured Jeanne of the desire of their majesties to see her at court; and of their anxiety to accomplish the marriage between her son, and madame Marguerite. The queen commanded the sieur de la Proutière to reply, and to state to his majesty's ambassadors the grievances which yet prevented the cordial co-operation of the Huguenots with

the court for the restoration of peace. The complaints personal to herself, which Jeanne had directed Proutière to make were, that the king still retained her town of Lectoure, the capital of her county of Armagnac, and that the marquis de Villars, lieutenant of Guyenne, of which province her son was governor, conducted himself with such arrogance, that he refused to acknowledge his subordination to the prince of Navarre. Jeanne, therefore, prayed that the marquis might be removed from his office. She then desired La Proutière to inquire whether the king had anything to allege against his Huguenot subjects. Cossé replied in the affirmative, and declared that his majesty was highly dissatisfied on the two following points ; namely, that the Protestant faction had not disbanded its forces, but maintained an army efficient, and strong enough to garrison the Pays d'Aunis ; secondly, that the queen of Navarre, the princes, and Huguenot chieftains, obstinately remained in the town of La Rochelle, in despite of his majesty's cordial invitation to them to repair near to his royal person.¹ Jeanne, upon this, replied with great presence of mind, before the sieur de la Proutière could collect himself sufficiently to make response, " that a month previously, there were no troops in La Rochelle ; but, having been advertised that both Cossé himself, and the marquis de Villars were advancing, each at the head of a considerable force, she had, therefore, thought it expedient to prepare, if necessary, for a vigorous

¹ Mém. de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX., p. 40. t. i.

defence. The troops so gathered," the queen assured Cossé, "would be dismissed as soon as those of de Villars retired from the vicinity of La Rochelle."¹ The queen then requested the marshal de Cossé to negotiate the recall of the chancellor de l'Hopital; and to ask, in her name, for the exile of the princes of Guise, the rigid maintenance of the edict, and the recognition of her sovereign rights over the county of Foix. The queen added, "that if it pleased his majesty to grant these requests, it would be the means of removing every particle of distrust from the minds of his Huguenot subjects of every degree." Respecting the proposed marriage between the prince of Navarre and madame Marguerite de France, Jeanne declared herself unable to reply to so important a demand in the absence of her son, who was then sojourning in Béarn. To gain time, however, the queen consented to nominate deputies to treat on all these matters at court. She, accordingly, accredited thither, M.M. de la Proutière, de Beauvoir, Téligny, Briquemaut, and Cavagnes. These deputies accompanied Cossé, who took leave of the queen on New Year's Day, 1571.²

Jeanne's envoys were received, by the king and his mother, with marked consideration. Charles himself condescended to grant them personal au-

¹ Mém. de l'Etat de France sons Charles IX., p. 40. t. i. Tannanes.

² Instructions données par la Roynie de Navarre au capitaine Lalaine pour être lus aux Etats de Béarn. Archives Impériales, K. 1296.—Inedited.

dience, instead of receiving a *resumé* of their mission, through a secretary of state. The king expatiated much upon the advantages likely to result from the alliance between the houses of Valois and Albret. He said that he was resolved to bestow his sister's hand on "*son bon frère, Henri,*" to whom she had been virtually betrothed by his royal father; "*et qu'il vouloit par ce moyen marier en quelque manière les deux religions.*" As for the exile of the princes of Guise, Charles exclaimed, with an oath, "that he would dispose of them as he chose." "Am I not king and master here? These Guises hold offices under my crown; but they do not control my pleasure. Subjects they are; and I will compel them to conform to my commandments. Say to my good aunt, that more than this I cannot now promise." Charles promised to restore the town of Lectoure to the queen; and, at the request of the deputies, he nominated commissioners to proceed to Rouen, and to Orange, to investigate the origin of the massacres perpetrated there since the promulgation of the edict, and to punish the aggressors.¹ He also granted his royal sanction for the convocation of a synod of ministers in La Rochelle, as a voluntary act of grace, which, the king said, he knew would be agreeable to his aunt. To demonstrate, moreover, his desire to favour even the hidden adherents of the Huguenots, Charles announced his intention of spending some days at Chantilly, with the marshal de

¹ Mezeray, Abbrég. Chron. Vie de Charles IX.

Montmorency, who had fallen somewhat in disfavour with Catherine, from a suspicion that the proscribed tenets were not so abhorrent to the marshal as she could have desired. In short, nothing could exceed the king's gracious affability, and his apparent desire to conciliate the Protestant party. Still, however, Jeanne believed not, nor trusted; her confidence had been broken; her experience, and the misfortunes of her life, rendered her incredulous, despite the protestations of the court.

During the month of February, 1571, the court of Jeanne d'Albret was enlivened by unwonted festivity, on the occasion of the marriage of the admiral de Coligny with Jacqueline de Montbel, comtesse d'Entremont, widow of the baron d'Anthon, who was killed at the battle of Dreux. Coligny had lost his first wife, Charlotte de Laval, several years previously; and the fame of his exploits and virtues made an ineffaceable impression on the heart of madame d'Entremont. This lady was a subject of the duke de Savoye, and one of the richest heiresses of his dominions. As she made no attempt to conceal her admiration of the admiral, and her ultimate intention to offer him the hand which so many nobles contended for in vain, duke Emmanuel Philibert signified his disapprobation of her project of allying herself with a rebel vassal of the French crown, and commanded her to accept the proposals of one of her own countrymen, a nobleman in his suite. Jacqueline boldly refused; and, despite the duke's avowed intent of

sequestering her vast domains, in case of disobedience, she quitted Savoy on the conclusion of peace, and repairing to La Rochelle, placed herself under the protection of queen Jeanne, "inspired," as Davila says, "with an ardent longing to become the Martia of her modern Cato." The duke of Savoye fulfilled his threat, and confiscated the domains of Entremont. Nevertheless, the marriage between the countess and Coligny was celebrated in the presence of the queen of Navarre. In her marriage contract, Jacqueline de Montbel made a donation of her estates to Coligny and his heirs, in case they were eventually restored; and the admiral settled upon her a jointure of 1200 livres Tournois, and his beautiful castle of Châtillon. Jeanne d'Albret witnessed both these transactions, and appended her signature to the contract. This romantic incident, for the countess d'Entremont and the admiral, never met before the arrival of the former in La Rochelle, created great excitement and interest. Coligny's valour and worth were greatly enhanced in the opinion of his party, seeing that the renown alone of his virtues had won for him so illustrious a bride.¹ On the same day that the

¹ After the assassination of Coligny, his wife fled in a destitute condition from France, and retired into Savoy. On the 21st of December, 1572, a few months after her widowhood, she gave birth to a daughter, Beatrice de Coligny, at St. André de Brior. The unfortunate countess in vain pleaded for the restitution of her noble patrimony; duke Emmanuel proved inexorable to her prayers; and soon she was cast into prison, under a shameful charge of "*sorcellerie, de magie, et de pactes avec le Diable.*" For many years she

admiral's nuptials were solemnized, he bestowed the hand of his eldest daughter, Louise, on Téligny, whose wisdom and moral endowments were highly prized by queen Jeanne. The queen afterwards appointed madame de Téligny to an important office in her household.

During the rejoicings which succeeded the celebration of these marriages, the queen's indefatigable mind dwelt on the subjects to be proposed before the approaching synod of ministers, which she had convoked to meet in La Rochelle, on the 2nd day of April, 1571. The queen presided at the discussions, accompanied by her son, who returned from Pau, expressly to meet the assembly. By Jeanne's desire ecclesiastical discipline was restored to its primitive severity; and the ceremonial to be observed during the celebration of the Lord's supper was discussed, and decided. These matters occupied the attention of the assembly for two days. On the fourth day of April, the queen demanded of the assembly, "whether she could without hurt to her conscience retain in her service the Roman Catholic members of her household, provided that she could not provide herself with other officers professing the reformed doctrines?" In answer to this, "says the historian,

remained a close prisoner, her property having been again formally confiscated. After the accession of Henry IV., the court of France made earnest intercession for "la veuve de Coligny;" but before the king's representations could be of avail, madame de Coligny died in her prison, after a life of unparalled calamity.

recording the acts of the synod of La Rochelle,"¹ her majesty was very humbly entreated to examine well who these said Roman Catholic officers were, and to be served as much as possible by those professing her own faith, such being trustworthy by having the fear of God. As for the Papists of her household, the assembly besought her majesty to cause all such who led quiet and orderly lives to be well instructed in the faith. But in respect to those traitors, once of her household, who betrayed her majesty in her necessity, and committed unheard of cruelties during the late troubles, the synod admonished her majesty never to admit them again into any public office, either in her household or appertaining to the court." Jeanne approved the decision of her ministers: through her chaplain, Le Nord, she thanked them for their loyal advice, to the which she promised faithfully to conform.

During the session of the assembly, the queen caused the New Testament translated in the Basque dialect by the ministers assembled at La Rochelle, to be published; for which patriotic and honourable achievement the queen publicly received the thanks of the synod. Jeanne viewed the acts of this assembly with exultation: she regarded its legal convocation as the crowning point of the war she had successfully waged, and as a solemn ratification of the recent edict of pacification.

¹ Aymon, *Recueil des Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France*, vii. Synode, art. 47, p. 108. La Rochelle, le 2 Avril 1571.

Before the assembly dispersed, the queen's deputies returned from Paris. They announced the speedy arrival of an embassy from the king to negotiate the marriage of his sister. The deputies expressed their belief in the sincerity of the king's expressions of good-will; and they besought Jeanne to consent to the union so ardently desired by the sovereign.

A few days subsequently, the marshal de Biron and the seigneur de Quincé arrived in La Rochelle, the bearers of more distinct overtures on the part of his majesty relative to his sister's union with prince Henry; coupled with an intimation that, after all his gracious overtures and promises, the king would take it exceedingly ill if the princes maintained their present hostile attitude, and contumaciously refused to visit the court. The perseverance of Charles and his mother in making all the preliminary propositions for the alliance between Henry and Marguerite appeared of most significant import to Jeanne. No overtures had as yet emanated from the young prince himself. The exquisite loveliness of the princess, her exalted birth, and rich dower rendered Charles's eagerness the more remarkable; for why should the king persist in bestowing his sister on a prince, born to fortunes, as it then appeared, so mediocre, and unworthy of the splendour of the alliance. Jeanne could trace but three actuating motives. Either the king was sincerely desirous to be reconciled to his Huguenot subjects, and in pledge of which bestowed upon their leader the brightest jewel of his house; or he feigned

to tender that honour as a snare to lull their suspicions, and to lure them to captivity and death. The third surmise dyed the pure cheeks of Jeanne d'Albret with shame and indignation even to dwell upon its possibility. It was rumoured that the known attachment between the princess Marguerite, and the duke de Guise, had passed the limits of decorum, and that a secret alliance had, in fact, united them. Could it, therefore, be probable that, as the mad folly of the king, on discovering this *liaison*, had compelled the duke de Guise, to become the husband of Catherine de Cleves, contrary to his inclination, that Charles, knowing his sister's position, and not daring to bestow her hand upon any of her kingly suitors, destined her for his vassel Henri de Navarre?

During the first audience which she granted Biron, on the subject of this marriage, the queen raised two objections which she hoped might relieve her from further negotiation on the unwelcome subject. She objected that the union could not be accomplished on account of the nearness of kin, and the religion of the parties.

Biron replied, that the king had had several conferences on the subject with the papal nuncio, Salviati; and that his Eminence was of opinion that these obstacles might easily be surmounted. The marshal then represented to the queen how offensive her delays were to the court; and that the consequences might be, the restoration of the House of Guise to its ancient influence in the state, and the proscription

of the Protestants throughout France ; whereas, the proposed marriage would for ever cement the happy union of the two factions. “ The juncture, madame, is admirable ; and seems even to have been created expressly by God, to assure for ever the peace of the realm. Come, madame,” proceed fearlessly to the court. “ Lose precious time no longer in perpetual delay—in irresolutions, especially humiliating to his Majesty ; inasmuch as no reason can be assigned for such excess of distrust.” He then represented the charms and graces of person possessed by Marguerite, the “ pearl of the court ;” and descanted on the honour and fortune of her son in being selected as the fortunate recipient of so signal a treasure. Jeanne made no reply to these courteous congratulations ; she was, perhaps, intently musing on the words, addressed to her, it is believed, by her devoted servant Rosny, who, notwithstanding the disparity of age, exhorted his mistress to try to obtain the hand of Elizabeth of England for her son. “ Madame,” said he, “ the spouse whom they have offered to you for your royal son, is of more subtle intellect than you think ; rumour speaks of her in a disparaging manner. Her blandishments will soon supersede your influence over the mind of the prince.”

A few days later, Jeanne summoned Biron to her presence. She then replied, that she was sensible of the great honour done her by the king in proposing such an alliance ; nevertheless, before she returned a definite reply, it was necessary for her to consult the

ministers of her persuasion, on the matter of the lawfulness of the intended union. "My conscience, monseigneur, once at rest, there is nothing that I am not ready to grant to please the king and the queen, and to guarantee the peace of this realm ; for the which I would willingly sacrifice life itself. But, monseigneur, I should prefer to descend to the condition of the simplest gentlewoman in France, rather than to sacrifice my own soul, and that of the prince, my son, for the aggrandizement of my house."¹ Perceiving that Jeanne would bind herself to nothing, and that she evidently intended to proceed no further, at that period, with the negotiation, Biron directed his assaults on the admiral. He delivered a most gracious letter from the young king, praying Coligny, *son bon père*, to repair to court, and aid him with his counsels ; and, lest fears for his safety should still prevail, Charles enclosed a patent, signed by his own hand, permitting Coligny to enrol a body-guard of fifty men-at-arms. The admiral shed tears on perusing this mark of confidence on the part of his youthful sovereign, and he promised to visit the court without delay. To confirm the favourable impression already wrought in the mind of the admiral, Biron informed him that the king had been pleased to intercede with the duke de Savoye for the restoration of the vast heritage appertaining to madame l'Amirale.²

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret, t. II. Mém. de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX., t. I. De Thou.

² La Popelinière, Hist. de France, t. II. fol. 21.

Nothing could exceed the dismay with which the Protestants of La Rochelle received the news of Coligny's intended departure for the court. Rosny, Condé, Téligny, and Jeanne herself, all united in remonstrances. The supplications of his bride even failed to move the admiral's purpose. Frank and loyal, he indignantly rejected the idea, that his anointed sovereign could overwhelm him with signal favours, only with the perfidious intent of taking his life. "No, no, madame," exclaimed Coligny, addressing the queen of Navarre; "I firmly confide in the honour and word of my king: otherwise, life is no longer life, to exist in the midst of perpetual alarms. Madame, I would rather die, smitten by one effectual blow, than live a hundred years, subject to dread apprehensions!"

The admiral, therefore, departed for the court, where he arrived in June, 1571. Charles advanced, and affectionately greeted Coligny, who threw himself at his sovereign's feet, and besought his gracious pardon for the past. Charles raised the admiral, and embraced him three times with every mark of affection, giving him the appellation of "*mon père*." The same day, the king restored to Coligny his place in the council; and presented him with the sum of one hundred thousand crowns. Catherine was prodigal of her most winning smiles; the duke d'Anjou received his recent adversary, with gracious affability, and compliments on the prowess displayed by the admiral on the battle-field; and the young

and lovely Marguerite, charmed him by her condescension, and the interest which she displayed respecting the queen, and the prince of Navarre. "We have you, now, amongst us, *mon père*," exclaimed Charles joyously; "nor shall you be able to escape at will!" These words were capable of two meanings: and, for once, distrust was roused in Coligny's mind; but the shadow passed, dissipated by the intoxicating flattery and the homage bestowed upon him. Another day, Charles casually observed, "*Mon père*, we know your influence with the queen of Navarre. Exert yourself, therefore, I pray you, to induce her to come hither, with the prince, her son."

Jeanne, however, not to be deceived by the blandishments of the court, and foreseeing that other attempts would be made to shake her resolve, had departed from La Rochelle, perceiving that her residence there gave umbrage to the court, and afforded an ostensible cause for the embassies sent to her.

In the middle of the month of September, 1571, Jeanne, therefore, accompanied by her two children, the prince de Condé, and a numerous suite, quitted La Rochelle—the city which had sheltered her during the darkest hours of adversity. Her beneficence and piety had endeared her to the gallant hearts of the Rochellois; deputations attended her to the gates of the town; and, amid the tears and blessings of the citizens, queen Jeanne departed for the venerable abode of her ancestors; one, which she had never expected to visit again—the castle of Pau.

CHAPTER V.

Rumours of the alliance between Henry and Marguerite at court—
 Its reception by the princess Marguerite—Her aversion to the
 proposal—Beauty of Marguerite de Valois—Her portraits—
 Details of her attachment to the duke de Guise—Marriage of the
 duke with the princesse de Porcien—Illness of Marguerite—Her
 resentment—Progress of the queen of Navarre through her
 dominions—Her entry into Pau—Revises her code of laws—Her
 correspondence with the viscount de Gourdon—She constructs the
 château de Castel-Beziat for her daughter, madame Catherine—
 Attitude of the French court—Correspondence of the queen with
 Coligny—Arrival of the marshal de Biron on a special embassy to
 Pau—Renewed discussions on the union of Henry and Margue-
 rite—Queen Jeanne refers the matter to her council of state—
 Decision of the council—Grief of the queen of Navarre on giving
 her assent to the marriage—Her letter to king Charles—She
 journeys to Nérac—Summons the nobility of Foix, Béarn and
 Navarre to a conference at Nérac—Her advice to her son—She
 receives the allegiance of her subjects of Lectoure—Queen Jeanne
 bids farewell to her son—Her distress and anxiety of mind—She
 proceeds to Blois—Her suite—She sojourns at Biron—Her letter
 to the prince of Navarre—Her meeting at Vendome with the
 legate Alexandrini—Deportment of Charles IX.—Dissensions
 between the king, and his mother, and brother—Queen Jeanne
 sojourns at Tours until after the departure of the legate—I

visited by queen Catherine and the court—Negotiations on the marriage—Catherine's demands are rejected by the queen of Navarre—Correspondence with the prince of Navarre—Gracious deportment of Marguerite de Valois—Correspondence of Jeanne with the baron de Beauvoir and others—Her letter to the prince of Navarre—Facsimile of the handwriting of Jeanne d'Albret—The queen journeys to Blois—Her cordial reception by king Charles—Details of her interview with the king—Insulting demeanour of Catherine de Medici—Her insincerity in the negotiation—Her demands—Resolute deportment of the queen of Navarre—Jeanne's letter to her son—Her complaints of the court—Her anger at the treatment to which she is subjected—She intimates to the queen-mother her intention to arrest the journey of the prince, her son, to the court—Anger of Catherine de Medici—Her instructions to the prince of Navarre—Henry's love, and confidence in his mother—He returns to Pau—Resumption of the negotiation—The king forbids his mother to interfere more in the affairs—Deputies are nominated to discuss the marriage articles—Jeanne's interview with queen Elizabeth's ambassadors—Her perplexity—The king and queen-mother continue to urge the presence of the prince of Navarre at Blois—Jeanne steadily refuses her assent to the journey of the prince—Deliberation of the deputies—Catherine still continues to influence the proceedings—Displeasure of the king—He suddenly resolves to bestow his sister upon Henry without conditions, provided that the prince of Navarre repairs to court to espouse Marguerite—Reluctant assent given by Jeanne d'Albret—Articles of the marriage contract between Henry and Marguerite—The cardinal de Lorraine applies to Rome for a dispensation authorizing the marriage—Refusal of Pius V. to sanction the union—Rage of the king—He refuses permission to the queen of Navarre to retire to Vendome pending the negotiation with the Holy See—Failing health of the queen of Navarre.

THE first person who presumed openly to speak at court of the projected alliance between Marguerite de Valois, and the prince of Navarre, was M. de Méru, brother of the marshal de Montmorency. The latter, from the ancient *liaison* existing between

the Houses of Albret and Montmorency, possessed much of Jeanne's confidence; and by the queen's direction, nothing had been negotiated by the ambassadors relative to this alliance, without the previous co-operation of the marshal. His affection for his cousins of Châtillon, and his total disapproval of Catherine's disastrous policy, rendered the marshal de Montmorency little appreciated at court, where, on the contrary, his second brother Damville, possessed great influence. Charles de Montmorency, seigneur de Méru,¹ third son of the constable Anne, held the post of chamberlain to queen Catherine. In discharge of the functions of his office, M. de Méru was one day in attendance behind the chair of Catherine, as she dined in public, when he ventured to congratulate her majesty, in the presence of the assembled court, on the contemplated union of her daughter Marguerite with the prince of Navarre. "Upon this," says Marguerite, in her memoirs,² "the queen, my mother, desired M. de Méru to speak to me on the same subject; which, when he did, I replied, that to do so, was superfluous, as I had no other will in the matter than to obey my said mother. Nevertheless, I entreated him (M. de Méru) to bear in mind that

¹ Charles de Montmorency afterwards became duke d'Amville, on the accession of his second brother, Henry, to the honours of his house, on the decease of the marshal de Montmorency in 1579. He was elevated to the dignity of admiral of France.

² *Mém. de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre*, liv. 1.

I was devoted to my faith, and that it would be a source of great disquietude to me to be compelled to espouse a prince who professed not the Catholic religion."

Yet after this avowal on the part of the young princess, Coligny was so deluded by the flattery of the court, as to express himself thus to queen Jeanne. "Concerning the princess, madame, be assured that she will have no will but that of her brother, the king; an obedient sister and daughter, she will submit to all that is required from her; she is most witty; her temper is kind, supple, docile; her mind is penetrating; and enlightened. Why should she not, therefore, madame, end by inclining her ear to the truth, and by accepting from conviction the faith professed by her future husband, and her mother-in-law?" No supposition could be more completely fallacious, as Coligny discovered, unhappily but too soon.

After her conversation with M. de Méru, Marguerite was summoned to her mother's private apartment, where, apparently for the first time, the contemplated project was seriously imparted to her. She was reminded by Catherine that the prince of Navarre possessed a claim to her hand, which had been pledged to him by her royal father, Henry II., when the king and queen of Navarre and their son visited Compiègne in 1557. Marguerite, at this period, was suffering from her brother's arbitrary interference with her attachment

to the duke de Guise: outraged, and feeling herself deeply injured, she seems to have received the communication with passive *sang-froid*. She says, in her account of this interview with Catherine, "my mother, the queen, called me afterwards into her cabinet, and said, "that M.M. de Montmorency had proposed to her this marriage for me, and that she had sent for me to learn what was my pleasure on the subject." "I replied," relates Marguerite, "that I had no other will or choice than her own; only I supplicated her Majesty to remember that I was a very devout Catholic."¹

But since the period, when, as a child of three years old, and the youngest of the daughters of France, Marguerite's hand had been hastily pledged by her father to the son of the king and queen of Navarre, she has become one of the most fascinating and lovely women of Europe. Her elder sister Elizabeth² had ascended the throne of Spain; her second sister, Claude, became the consort of the chief of the line of Lorraine; and suitors innumerable craved the favour of Marguerite. When the project of her marriage with Henri de Navarre occupied the mind of Catherine, the princess had not completed her twentieth year. If the many historians are to be credited, and Brantôme especially, who have described the charms of Marguerite de Valois, a more perfectly beautiful face and figure never adorned a court.

¹ Mém. de Marguerite de Valois, liv. 1.

² Elizabeth, queen of Spain, died in 1568.

Many portraits of the princess, taken both before and after her marriage exist; the majority of these represent her as having possessed great personal beauty—enough, perhaps, to justify, in some degree, the exaggerated eulogies of the poets and courtiers of the day.

Marguerite's complexion was exquisitely fair, and her eyes of a very bright blue. As golden tresses were thought to harmonize best with her complexion, the princess often hid her beautiful black hair beneath a *coiffure* of pale coloured curls.¹ "Nevertheless," says Brantôme,² "I have seen this magnificent princess wear her own hair without devices of borrowed tresses; and, although her hair was very black, like that of her father, king Henry, she knew well how to curl, frizzle, and dress it, in imitation of her sister, the queen of Spain, that such head-dress seemed more becoming to her than any other she could invent." Marguerite's features were soft, and perfectly moulded; her nose resembled that of her mother Catherine de Medici; her mouth, chin, and throat, in the portraits, drawn during her early youth, are exquisitely beautiful. Her figure was majestic, and displayed, to the admiration of the court, her costly, and often fantastic attire. Well might Jeanne d'Albret dread a demoralization of her

¹ There is a picture of Marguerite in the Bibliothèque Impériale, as a child of eight years old, in which she is represented, even at that early age, with blonde tresses.

² Brantôme, Dames Illustres, Vie de Marguerite de Valois.

little court, when she heard from Coligny and others, of the voluptuous graces and habits of her future daughter-in-law.

Catherine had sought, through the influence of her daughter Elizabeth, to negotiate an alliance for Marguerite with the infant Don Carlos of Spain, Philip's eldest son. The decease of the prince, in 1568, frustrated her design. She next sanctioned the overtures of Sebastian, king of Portugal, nephew of the king of Spain. This alliance, however, did not meet with the approbation of king Philip, who entertained the project of bestowing a member of his own lineage on Sebastian. During the interval, occurred Marguerite's *liaison* with the duke de Guise: "those princes of Lorraine have so noble, and majestic a mien, that in comparison to them, all other men appear plebeian and common," said madame de Retz, one of the most fastidious and learned ladies of the court. The duke's influence over the susceptible spirit of Marguerite soon became paramount; and for the first, and only time, her affections were touched, and she loved with a passion equal to that which she so often inspired. Probably had Marguerite been permitted to yield to her inclinations, the tenor of her life had been changed; but the duke d'Anjou hated the princes of Lorraine, and, therefore, with malignant pertinacity, he schemed to foil their projects. Before his departure as generalissimo of the royal forces, sent against the Huguenots, the duke had chosen Marguerite as the *confidante* of his

designs; he therefore initiated her into his policy; and praying his mother to consult the princess as the depository of his opinion and desires, he quitted the court, after giving Marguerite many injunctions to support his interests, and to send him early tidings of all that passed there.¹ On his return, great was the indignation of d'Anjou to find the duke de Guise established in the favour of the princess; he bitterly reproached Marguerite for the interest which she evidenced for his enemy, and he at once withdrew his confidence from her. He, moreover, represented to Catherine and the king, "that his sister was becoming most beautiful and fascinating, and that M. de Guise wished to obtain her in marriage, urged thereto by his uncles. He, therefore, thought it important that nothing of any consequence should be said before the princess, as she would be sure to report it to the duke de Guise. The queen, his mother, knew well, and could bear witness of the mad ambition of that House, and how it had always opposed that of Valois."² The anger and jealousy of the king were further augmented by the incautious boasting of the cardinal de Lorraine, who was imprudent enough to exclaim publicly, referring to the duke de Lorraine, who had espoused the princess Claude of France. "*L'ainé a eu l'ainée—le cadet aura la cadette!*"

¹ Mém. de Marguerite de Valois, liv. 1. The scene of this compact between Marguerite and her brother, d'Anjou, was the castle of Plessis-les-Tours.

² Mém. de Marguerite de Valois, liv. 1.

One day Charles returned from the chase in a paroxysm of fury, after witnessing the attentions bestowed on his sister by the duke de Guise. He was attended by his brother, the duke d'Anjou, and by his illegitimate brother, Henri d'Angoulême, Grand Prior of France. Addressing the latter in a tone hoarse with passion, the king pointed to two swords which chanced to be lying on a table before them, saying: "Henri, you see those swords? well, one of them, I swear, shall pierce thee to the heart, if to-morrow when we go to the chase, thou dost not kill the duke de Guise with the other!"¹ The same evening the duke de Guise was entering the great hall of the palace, arrayed with the utmost magnificence, for a ball, at which Marguerite was to appear. At the door, the duke met king Charles, who imperiously demanded "whither he was going?" "Sire," replied Guise, "I am here to serve your gracious majesty." "Monseigneur, I have no need of your services; you may depart,"² was the uncourteous retort of Charles to the most puissant prince of his realm. The duke de Guise replied not a word; but retired, and gave orders for his departure for Paris. Whilst making preparation for the journey, the duke received a secret message from the Grand Prior, admonishing him to quit the

¹ Mathieu, *Hist. du Règne de Charles IX.*, liv. 5. p. 333.

² Davila, *Hist. des Guerres Civiles*.

court ; and if he wished to preserve his life, to delay no longer his marriage with Catherine de Cleves ;¹ whose favour he had sought as a blind to his court of the princess. The duke hastened to consult his mother, Anne d'Este, duchesse de Nemours : the duchess had, likewise, received a mysterious intimation that her son's life was menaced ; she also appreciated the withering hate with which Anjou persecuted the individual, whom a presentiment seemed to indicate as his future, and most unrelenting foe. The duke de Guise had not a less vivid conviction of his peril ; won, therefore, by the tears of the duchess, he consented that his union with the princess de Porcien should be solemnized without delay. That very night, therefore, Catherine de Cleves was summoned to the Hôtel de Nemours, and the matter unfolded to her by the duchess. The alliance was too august, and had moreover been one too deeply desired by the princesse de Porcien, to render hesitation on her part probable. The contract, therefore, was drawn, and the spousal rites celebrated before the dawn of morning ; and great was the wonder and the envy of the court, when a few days afterwards, the duke de Guise presented his youthful bride to their majesties at St. Germain.²

¹ Catherine de Cleves, second daughter of the duke de Nevers and Marguerite de Bourbon, widow of Antoine de Croy, prince de Porcien, who died in 1564.

² Varillas. Mathieu, Règne de Charles IX. During the life of her first husband, the princesse de Porcien professed the Lutheran

Charles suppressed his exultation, and gave the bride a courteous greeting: but the happiness of Marguerite de Valois had been sacrificed; and from that day, reckless of fame, she pursued that career of dissipated pleasure, so injurious to her repute.

A long and serious illness proved nearly fatal to Marguerite after the marriage of the duke de Guise; the sight of her brother, d'Anjou, became hateful to her. Most of the disasters which darkened the subsequent reign of Henry III, are to be traced to the ungenerous, and treacherous part which he played in this affair. The unappeasable hate of the duke de Guise towards Henry, acquired then its deadliest venom; while Marguerite ever radiant in beauty, and wit, taking advantage of her position as the wife of the sovereign of the Huguenot faction, avenged with deadly resentment the wrong which she had received.

The queen of Navarre, meantime, accompanied by her son, traversed the provinces of her dominions. She was everywhere hailed with respect and attachment. Even the rebel cities yielded reluctant admiration to the clemency which she exhibited. Many forfeit privileges did she restore, and numerous were the penal *ordonnances* issued by her lieutenants which she annulled, while pronouncing their tenor to have been wise and serviceable for her cause. Arros

faith. After his decease, she made recantation of that faith in the royal chapel of St. Germain, at the solicitation of queen Catherine de Medici.

and Montamar accompanied the queen throughout her progress ; and it delighted Jeanne to give them public and signal marks of her favour and gratitude. Animosities disappeared under the genial influence which the queen exercised, wherever she bent her steps : her mission was one of reconciliation and peace to all her subjects, of whatever degree. Long afterwards, this royal progress of the good queen Jeanne was remembered by the Béarnois, with feelings of mournful reverence. About the middle of October, 1571, queen Jeanne made her entry into Pau. She was received with acclamations. That city, so long agitated by faction and tumult, hailed her re-appearance ; and the people crowded round, invoking blessings on her head. The queen's tears mingled with the plaudits of her people : this enthusiastic welcome was the last earthly joy destined to move the noble heart of Jeanne d'Albret.

In the midst of her popularity, a presentiment of evil oppressed the queen. No moment did she devote to repose or recreation, now that she again rested in safety within the palace of her ancestors, after the mental and bodily fatigues of the past two years. A restless eagerness to accomplish something, as yet unachieved, possessed her ; and the greetings of her people alone had power to dissipate, momentarily, the melancholy pre-occupation which had become the habitual expression of her features.

Jeanne's first act was, to convoke the states of the principality : she then demanded the aid of the abler

members of the assembly, to effect a third revision of the code of laws. Many new *ordonnances* were added by the queen, for the enforcement of order and morality. Her watchful care for her subjects extended even to the most minute incident of their lives. Her code regulated their marriages, the education of their children, and their pursuits. She banished all persons of depraved morals, after a second conviction, from the principality ; she condemned the drunkard, for each offence, to imprisonment for three days, on bread and water ; and the proprietor of the tavern, to a fine of one hundred sous. Blasphemy was punished by imprisonment, fine, and exile. The punishment of death, Jeanne allotted to murderers alone. The queen fixed the period for the attainment of the majority of her male subjects, at the age of twenty-five ; that of females, at twenty. Games of chance, banquets, luxurious and costly clothing, public processions, and dissolute assemblies, she strictly prohibited. Many clauses were, likewise, added by the queen, for the better regulation of ecclesiastical discipline, the payment of the ministers, and the celebration of divine service. She, also, distinctly defined the limits of her own royal authority, and that of the council of state.

The code, thus augmented and revised, was presented by the queen to the assembly, on the 26th day of November, 1571 ; it was unanimously accepted, without discussion. Its enthusiastic reception was regarded by Jeanne as an atonement in full from

her subjects, for the factious troubles of preceding years. On the first day of the new year, 1572, Jeanne published another *ordonnance*, reforming the calendar, and fixing the commencement of the year on the 1st of January. The year, under the old style, was reckoned from the Saturday preceding Easter-Day. This reform had recently been adopted throughout France, by the chancellor de l'Hôpital.

About this period, queen Jeanne wrote to her friend, the viscount de Gourdon, giving him a detailed account of her proceedings, relative to the principality of Béarn; and informing him of the change she had there effected in religion. This document is valuable, as a statement under the queen's own hand, of her recent exercise of her sovereign rights over Béarn; a point, which has been the subject of much controversy.

THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE TO THE VISCOUNT DE
GOURDON.

MONSIEUR LE VISCOMTE,

At the time that I sent the count de Montgomery to be my lieutenant over Béarn, to establish again everywhere the Reformed Faith, (which you well know, as the said count had in his army troops levied by you, and the other viscounts,) Terride, your cousin, was taken prisoner, with other traitors. Out of regard for you, he alone of all the said prisoners was not condemned to death; for which thing, I pray you make the said Terride grateful, and

peacefully disposed. I now inform you that I have issued general orders for the maintenance of discipline in the church in Béarn, as it is my resolve that the Reformed Religion shall remain dominant throughout my sovereignties, all superstition, and idolatrous practices being from henceforth suppressed. It is my will that all my subjects throughout my dominions shall attend *la prédiche*, under certain penalties; and that all persons who absent themselves from the Holy Communion more than once, without good and reasonable excuse, shall suffer banishment. Besides, I have established an ecclesiastical council, composed of two gentlemen, two counsellors, two ministers, two persons of the *tiers-état*, one proctor, one registrar and one deacon, having authority given him to receive dues. This council has power to rule, and to dispose of ecclesiastical revenues; in the first place, for the maintenance of the ministers of our church, for the support of schoolmasters, and for the relief of the poor and destitute: the surplus of this fund is afterwards to be devoted for the payment of the salaries of the officers of our sovereign council of state, of the governors, captains, and officers of the garrisons, to the manifest relief of these our countries. My said *ordonnance*, moreover, grants licence to cousins-german to marry; and permits husbands to put away their wives for just causes, and to marry again; with and by the licence of our said ecclesiastical council. We also grant permission to all monks and nuns to quit their convents; and other matters we also there decree in conformity to the confession of faith which we uphold. I shall not fail to advertise you of the time when I return to La Rochelle, which will be, if it pleases God, very shortly. I will inform you of the day when I shall be at Bergerac; at which time I may possibly spend a few days with you,

so that I may take you onwards with me. I pray God, M. le vicomte, to have you in His safe and holy keeping. Written at Pau, this 29th day of November, 1571.

Your very good and assured friend,

JEHANNE.¹

After perusing this letter, and taking into consideration the preceding acts of the queen, Jeanne's Roman Catholic subjects, it must be acknowledged, had reason to complain of the rigour exercised towards them in religious matters by their sovereign. It must be remembered, however, that these severe enactments were not felt in Béarn, where the great majority of her subjects professed the Reformed Faith. It was against the inhabitants of Lower Navarre, and of the county of Foix, that these laws were framed—subjects always in revolt, and incited to treasonable enterprises by the priests and disaffected nobles in the pay of Philip of Spain, or of the French government. Jeanne believed that her life would never be safe, or her territories in repose, until these traitors, and the faith which served as the pretext for such frequent rebellion, were together proscribed.

The queen's chief amusement at this period, between the hours devoted by her to study, was in superintending the construction of a fanciful edifice in the park of the palace at Pau. This château was designed, by the queen, for her daughter, madame Catherine, that the princess might there pursue her studies in retirement, with her preceptress, madame

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. Vallant, Portef. 1er. No. 10.—Inedited.

de Thignonville. In shape, the building resembled a Turkish kiosk ; the interior was highly decorated, and consisted of a great number of apartments. The queen bestowed upon this little edifice the name of Castel-Beziat, or *Chateau-chéri*. She did not live to witness its completion ; but Catherine resided in solitary state, in this her picturesque abode, during the weary period of the wars of the League, whilst her heroic brother contended for the crown of his ancestors. As the gift of her mother, whose memory she almost worshipped,¹ Catherine clung to Castel-Beziat as she did to no other abode. When summoned to preside over the splendid court of Henry the Great, it was on the walls of her favourite apartment facing the Gave at Castel-Beziat, that the princess wrote, "*Quò me fata vocant,*" words inspired by the melancholy presentiment of her future destiny, which always haunted the daughter of Jeanne d'Albret.

The commencement of the year 1572 opened gloomily for the queen. Her distrust and disinclination to treat with Catherine and her son, or to repair to St. Germain, excited clamours amongst the Huguenot chieftains. Blinded by the artful condescension of queen Catherine, they implicitly believed her protestations ; and, in their anger, they accused

¹ After Henry had renounced the Protestant Faith, he urged the same measure of expediency on his sister. Catherine replied, "I will never renounce the religion in which I have been nurtured, if only for the respect which I owe to the memory of my mother, whose life and actions I hold to be inimitable !"

Jeanne d'Albret of purposely retarding the peace, in order to extort from the French council, conditions exclusively advantageous to herself, as a sovereign princess. The court cast the entire odium on the queen of Navarre, of its infringement of the late edict, and of the dilatory delays of the council to enforce obedience to its enactments. Catherine plausibly pleaded that, while Jeanne held aloof in hostile attitude, in league with Elizabeth of England, and pertinaciously refused for her son the highest honour which prince could bestow on his vassal, it was unreasonable to expect the king to disarm. She further intimated to Coligny, that the war in aid of the Flemish Protestants could never be undertaken, while disaffected French Huguenots found support against their sovereign, and a rallying point under the standard of Albret. Catherine skilfully fomented the murmurs which now arose on all sides against the queen. She represented Jeanne to the chieftains of her party, as a princess of reckless ambition, ready to sacrifice the welfare of the realm to her resentments. She demanded whether Coligny and the Huguenots, his colleagues in command, had taken up arms in defence of the Protestant Faith, or for the personal aggrandizement of queen Jeanne; "the one you have had guaranteed, on the word of a king; the other you have yet to contend for."

The admiral having retired to his castle of Châtillon, the king sent for him again to confer on matters affecting his government. To inspire the Huguenots

with still greater confidence, Charles feigned to deplore the contumacy displayed by his aunt, the queen of Navarre. He spoke in slighting terms of his mother, and the duke d'Anjou; and avowed his intention of removing them by degrees from all influence in public affairs. These words had been probably suggested to the king for the occasion, though they were, nevertheless, sincerely spoken by the unfortunate Charles. Catherine relied on the terrible power which she possessed of rousing the passions of her son to almost maniacal fury—a frenzy which she could generally direct at will upon those whom, but the hour previously, he had caressed and distinguished. The queen could, therefore, afford to tolerate a few depreciating observations from the lips of her son, to serve her ulterior purpose. Every individual of his court was in turn suspected by Charles. The chamberlains placed about him by Catherine, were chosen from amongst her Italian adherents, and perfected by apparently aimless jests, the suspicions which it was the queen's intent to foster. “*L'art de deviser, c'est régner,*” was the maxim from which Catherine never deviated. The favour shown by the king to Coligny, was not, however, altogether feigned; in the chivalrous integrity of the admiral, he hoped to find succour against those whom he distrusted, and from whose thrall he vainly sought emancipation. Conversing one day with Téligny, on the contemplated expedition into Flanders which Charles desired, though it was a project that Catherine secretly ridiculed, the

king expressed himself thus respecting his privy councillors. "Shall I tell you truly, Téligny, my opinion of all these people? I distrust every one of them. Tavannes' ambition disquiets me; Vieilleville is too fond of good wine; Cossé is avaricious; de Montmorency cares only for hunting and hawking; the count de Retz is Spanish in heart; the other nobles, composing my court and council, are all of them fools. In short, to conceal from you none of my thoughts, my secretaries of state are traitors, so that often I know not in whom to have recourse."¹

Another day, when discoursing privately with the admiral on the same subject—the campaign in Flanders,—the king said, "Mon père, there is another matter which you must carefully heed: it is, that the queen, my mother, is always poking everywhere, as you well know, and she must not be told of this enterprise; at least, not in detail. She would mar our design." "As you please, sire," responded Coligny. "Nevertheless, I hold her majesty for so good a mother, and one so devoted to your welfare, that even if she were told all, she would offer no obstacle. On the contrary, she might materially aid our design; while I apprehend many difficulties in hiding, the matter." "You are totally misinformed," rejoined Charles; "leave the matter to me. I perceive that you do not yet know my mother: she is the

¹ Mém. de l'Etoile, t. i. p. 48.

greatest mischief-maker on the face of the earth.”¹ Charles probably firmly believed all that he asserted ; but, devoid of experience, incautious, and possessing no fixed principles of administration, he blindly followed one dominant idea, without reflecting on its various bearings. Unfortunately for the queen of Navarre, the project then in the ascendant with the king, was to compel her presence at court, when Charles indulged in a vain conviction that some method would be discovered for reconciling party divisions.

The queen speedily received fresh solicitations from Coligny to consent to the union of her son with madame Marguerite ; when her presence at St. Germain would be indispensable to sanction that great event. “The king, madame,” wrote Coligny, “will smooth every obstacle ; even that of religious prejudice. You have nothing to apprehend.” Again, Coligny wrote, relative to the campaign in aid of the Flemish Protestants, which he knew that Jeanne regarded as the test of the sincerity of the court. “Madame, the king has so firmly set his mind on this enterprise, that every day it is delayed seems to him as ten years.”² The baron de Rosny³ appears to have been most confided in by Jeanne at this critical juncture. He firmly deprecated the alliance with Marguerite de Valois, and counselled his royal

¹ Mém. de l'Etoile, t. i. p. 47.

² La Popelinière, Hist. de France, liv. 17. fol. 47.

³ Father of Maximilian de Béthune, duke de Sully, the famous minister and friend of Henri le Grand.

mistress to end the matter by offering the hand of her son to Elizabeth of England. Jeanne, much as she esteemed and prized queen Elizabeth's friendship, declined to negotiate an alliance, however advantageous, between parties of so unequal an age. The queen, moreover, was unwilling to draw upon her gallant son the ridicule with which the duke d'Anjou had recently covered himself, by preferring the same suit to the wily Elizabeth, who laughed at and deluded the ambitious aspirants for her crown, while investing their demand with the solemnity of state negotiation.

At the commencement of January, 1572, another formal embassy arrived at Pau, sent by king Charles to demand a final answer from Jeanne and her son on all the points discussed with the court of France, but principally relative to the union of the prince of Béarn with Marguerite de Valois. Biron was at the head of the embassy; and his arrival had been duly intimated to the queen by Coligny. He was empowered to announce to the queen of Navarre that king Charles restored all her rights over the castles and fortified places situated in the domains which she held in fief from the crown of France, including the town of Lectoure, which was still garrisoned by the marquis de la Valette, and French troops. The king, moreover, was ready to agree that the marriage of her son with his sister, should be solemnized according to the Reformed ritual. Finally, Biron added, that the Guises had been required to absent themselves from

court ; and especially the cardinal de Lorraine, whom the king had already intrusted with a special mission to Rome, in order to afford a plausible pretext for his departure from the realm. Biron delivered to queen Jeanne a letter from Catherine de Medici, in which the following passage occurs. " Gratify, I beseech you, madame, the extreme desire which we all feel to welcome you in this company ; you will here be loved and honoured, as it is meet that you should be, considering what you are !"

As a last resource, Jeanne assembled her council of state, and submitted the projected marriage between Henry and Marguerite. She had still hope that the nobles of the principality would interpose to arrest a project which she contemplated with invincible repugnance. Francourt, chancellor of Navarre, however, had been won by the expostulations of the admiral, and the promises of the court. In an harangue of great length, he recapitulated the advantages of the alliance, which he averred would at once give the Huguenots a political standing in the realm. His eloquence so moved the assembly, that Arros, Grammont, Montamar, and even prince Henry himself united in entreating the queen to yield her assent to the alliance, and to proceed to the court of France. Jeanne received the representations of her privy council in mournful silence : presently she uttered with a deep sigh, "*Hélas ! je compte peu d'amis !*"¹

¹ Vauvilliers, t. II.

Further opposition being impossible, the queen, with her accustomed decision, signified her assent to the alliance between Henry and madame Marguerite in a letter she immediately addressed to the king: and which announced also her prompt departure from Pau for the court, to negotiate the marriage articles. She stated to his majesty, "that what she had done had been in vindication of her faith, for the safety of her friends, the welfare of her subjects, and in behalf of that God, from whom she owed everything, wealth, honours, and life itself." Charles flippantly replied through Biron, "that the contemplated marriage would be deemed a miracle; and that he gave his sister Marguerite not to the prince of Béarn alone, but to all the Huguenots, to cement alliance with them all, in pledge of the immutable nature of his edicts."¹ The queen had directed Biron to inform the king that she would not sanction the celebration of her son's marriage in Paris; a city she disliked, as she distrusted the Parisians, who were, to use the queen's own expressions, "*peuples mutins ennemis d'elle et des siens.*" Biron made some temporizing reply; and thus, for the time, that matter rested.

The queen took an early opportunity of assembling her council; she detailed the measures which she had adopted in deference to their counsels so lately expressed; but at the same time she reiterated her own

¹ Mém. sur l'Etat de France, sous le Règne de Charles IX., p. 206.

fears and forebodings : “Messeigneurs, you know whether it is for myself that I tremble,” exclaimed Jeanne, with affecting earnestness, “nevertheless, when I stand in the presence of the king, I will avoid all matter of dissension, but I will sooner lose life itself than promise ought contrary to the commands of God, who will dispose of the event according to His holy pleasure !”

The queen next announced, to the surprise and displeasure of her council, that she had nominated the prince of Navarre her lieutenant-general and representative in Béarn during her absence, having decided that her son should not visit the court of France, until his marriage with the princess Marguerite was finally arranged, and the contract signed. In vain the council remonstrated ; Jeanne firmly withstood their representations, and asserted her sovereign right to act as she pleased in the matter. She had already combated Coligny’s arguments and Biron’s anger ; but her resolution remained unshaken. “My son,” said the queen, “will stay in Béarn until I summon him thence ; and, moreover, he will remain surrounded by more than five hundred of our trusty and loyal adherents,” for she knew well, says the historian Le Grain,¹ “what manner of people she had to deal with at court.” To the solicitations not to remain behind, which were personally addressed to himself, the prince of Béarn calmly replied, “*c’est l’ordre de ma mère !*”

¹ Vie de Henry IV., t. I.,

so entire and implicit was the affection felt by Henry for his noble mother.

Jeanne next addressed letters, written by her own hand, to all her faithful nobles of Béarn, Foix, and Navarre, inviting them to meet her at Nérac, during the month of January, 1572, when it was her intention to make a brief sojourn there, on her road to join the court at Blois. Amongst the nobles thus summoned, were La Rochefoucauld, Caumont, Arros, Montamar, Navailles, Lavardin, Ségur, Rosny de Béthune, Grammont, Beauvoir, Fontrailles, Francourt, and Gourdon; altogether, more than five hundred of the noblest peers of France. These nobles were summoned to confer with the queen, that she might impart to them that, which it was impossible to reveal by letter. "My son joins me, in this desire of seeing you," says the queen, in her letter to Caumont de la Force, one of the most valiant of her viscounts; "but I pray you, that it may be without delay; for, *periculum est in mora!*"¹

The queen quitted Pau for Nérac, early in January, 1572. Her farewell to the citizens was a melancholy one. Jeanne was overpowered with a presentiment of the dark destiny closing round her. Crowds of people accompanied the *cortége* of the queen to the gates of the town; and many even attended her some distance on her road—so reluctant were they to say, farewell.

¹ Lettre de la Reine de Navarre au vicomte Caumont de la Force. MS. Bibl. Roy.

Jeanne was received at Nérac by a large assemblage of cavaliers, obedient to her summons. Caumont de la Force alone was absent, owing to a severe domestic affliction. The conferences between Jeanne and her gallant nobles were frequent and long : to their fidelity, knowledge, and loyalty, she solemnly confided the destinies of the prince, her son. In the presence of them all, she bade the youthful prince to be docile to the counsels of Montgomery, of Arros, and of Beauvoir, his governor ; to undertake nothing without the assent of his nobles ; and to let no solicitation induce him to approach the court, unless she had first authorized the visit. Brave, loyal, and devoted, as were these nobles, not one of them—not excepting even Montgomery himself—had penetration, and strength of will to resist, afterwards, the fatal importunities of the admiral de Coligny, whose folly proved the destruction of his party. The queen further admonished the prince “ to assemble the states of Lower Navarre, at St. Palais, during her absence ; and to confirm anew to her Roman Catholic subjects of that district, her firm resolve to tolerate their faith.” The young prince then solemnly promised to obey his mother’s commands, in the matters which she had suggested ; and to await her summons, before he repaired to court.

A few days subsequently, queen Jeanne proceeded to the town of Lectoure, the capital of her county of Armagnac, to receive a renewed oath of fidelity from its inhabitants. The marquis de la Valette, on

surrendering the town to commissioners despatched for the purpose by queen Jeanne, took the opportunity to harangue the people of Lectoure; he purposely worded his address, so as to convey the impression that the queen intended to punish their defection by abrogating their municipal privileges. Jeanne no sooner heard of this calumnious report, than she resolved to visit Lectoure, and, by her voluntary confirmation of their charters, to repress the menaced disaffection of the citizens.

The queen was received in the hall of the Hôtel de Ville, where a dais and throne, covered with cloth of gold, had been erected. Jeanne took her seat, having on her right her two children, Henry and madame Catherine; on her left, stood a brilliant group of cavaliers, the foremost personages being the count Louis de Nassau, the baron d'Arros, and Biron, Charles's ambassador. The queen pronounced a short address with grace and fluency, "*car la reine Jeanne, et sa mère Marguerite d'Angoulême,*" says Brantôme,¹ "*étaient deux bouches d'or des plus disertes de la France.*" The chief citizens then approached the dais, and, kneeling, took the oath of allegiance to the queen. Jeanne in her turn rose, and, standing with her right hand resting on the book containing the charters, records, and privileges of the citizens, she solemnly engaged to maintain them inviolate. The queen afterwards, took her departure, and returned to Nérac, very satisfied with her reception by her sub-

¹ Dames Illustres, Vie de Marguerite de Valois.

jects of Lectoure. "*Dieu merci,*" wrote she to Caumont de la Force, "*ils sont fort contens de moi, et moi d'eux.*"¹

Another few days swiftly elapsed. Jeanne then bade farewell to her son for ever. She proceeded on her dreaded journey to the court of the Valois, accompanied by her daughter Catherine, "her only consolation," as Jeanne often terms this beloved child. In the queen's suite, were Biron, the count de Nassau, the viscount de Rohan, the count de la Rochefoucault, Téligny, la Noue, de Rosny, madame de Thignonville mademoiselle de Perray, and others. The depression of spirits from which the queen suffered, visibly augmented, after she quitted Béarn; her health seemed to fail, and, at times, listless inaction overwhelmed her. Her servants and friends contemplated with grief the aged and care-worn expression of Jeanne's countenance. Her dark eyes had lost none of their fire; but the air of languor which rested upon her features, and the desire that the queen constantly expressed for repose and solitude, testified that her constitution was sinking beneath labours of unparalleled magnitude.

The town of Poitiers was the first place at which Jeanne made any sojourn after quitting Nérac. She remained there several days. She then continued her journey to Biron, where she spent some short interval at the castle which appertained to M. de Biron. It was during her sojourn here that the first letters

¹ Vauvilliers, Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret, t. II. Olhagaray.

were interchanged between queen Jeanne and her son. Jeanne's response to the prince is replete with evidence of the tender affection subsisting between them; the familiar incidents to which she alludes, and the playful tone of the letter, so different to the queen's accustomed style of correspondence, demonstrate that no restraint on either side subsisted to mar perfect confidence between the mother and her son.

QUEEN JEANNE TO HER SON, THE PRINCE OF
NAVARRÉ.

MON FILS,

I have received your letter, and am very glad to hear that you continue in good health; also, I feel pleased to learn that Pistolle has got her puppies. I thought to have found your cousin¹ arrived in this place: I hear that he is not so tall and stout now as yourself; the reason, I believe, is, that he is too much in love. You do not, of course, doubt the courteous reception which we have met with here, from M. de Biron, which is good as we could wish. Yesterday, we celebrated the wedding of Reynette;² though I must own to you, that your absence deprived me of half the joy which I should otherwise have felt. My cousin will escort me hence as far as (name illegible³), to visit his fair mistress. I send you the memoranda, which the captain Morène brought to me here, to lay before the council,

¹ Henry, prince de Condé, who was then betrothed to Marie de Cleves, marquise d'Isle.

² A femme-de-chambre in the service of the queen of Navarre.

³ Probably the château de Blandi, a residence belonging to the house of Nevers, and where the marriage of Condé with Marie de Cleves was eventually solemnized.

at which I entreat you to attend constantly, and more than your pleasure would lead you to do, as much for your own future benefit as for the welfare of our subjects. I pray you, moreover, mon fils, often to frequent the *prêches* of our ministers; to command that daily prayer be read before you; and to obey, and confide in monsieur de Beauvoir, as you have always done. Also, do not fail to hear what M. de Francourt has often to impart, as you promised me. Poor M. de Puch is dead: his brother, M. de Pardailhon, has been to me to ask for the office of sénéchal, the which I could not refuse him, as he is loyally inclined to render you any service in his power, as he himself assured me: besides, he is better fitted for the office than his deceased brother was, being more fluent of speech. Madame de Vaulx¹ arrived here the same day that I did: and now, mon fils, having nothing more to write about to-day, I will pray God to guide and protect you in, and through all trials. Written from Biron, this 21st day of January, by

Votre bonne mère, et amie,

JEHANNE.

I send you, also, the memorial which my nephew brought for me. Since I wrote my letter, the capitaine Morêne has resolved to journey and see you for himself.²

From Biron Jeanne proceeded to Tours. On the road she met the cardinal Alexandrini, sent by the pope on a special mission of expostulation to the king on his project of bestowing his sister on the chief of the Huguenots; and to exhort his majesty to

¹ The wife of one of the queen's chaplains, Merlin de Vaulx.

² MS. Bibl. Roy. Dupuy, 209, 210, 211, fol. 42.—Inedited.

return a favourable answer to the suit of the king of Portugal. The cardinal rudely traversed the queen's train, without even bestowing upon her the customary salutation, deeming it, "a crime and an impiety to offer any greeting to an excommunicated person."¹

The approaching arrival of queen Jeanne greatly excited the king; he laughed, jested, and rudely repulsed any counsel from his mother, or the duke d'Anjou. Sometimes his keen sarcasms, were unexpectedly aimed at the admiral and his friends. In vain the Huguenots of the court, examined Charles's countenance; but the glistening eye, which wandered searchingly round, betrayed none of the emotions, or the resolves agitating the mind of the king. The fierceness of the taunts which he occasionally addressed to his mother in the court circle, often made Catherine's brow grow livid with anger. The duke d'Anjou feared for his life, and withdrew as much as possible from the royal presence. It is asserted that these angry demonstrations on the part of king Charles, were but a portion of the farce enacting by the court to delude the Huguenots, and to throw them completely off their guard, by opening before their chieftains the flattering prospect of firmly establishing themselves in the government by a breach between Catherine and her son, and the queen's consequent removal from any share in the administration. That Catherine and her favourite son d'Anjou had already

¹ Mém. sur l'Etat de France. De Thou. Mém. de Tavannes, chap. xxv.

contemplated the crime of ridding themselves of the Huguenots on the occasion of the marriage of the prince of Navarre, is possible ; but the king's resolutions were always suddenly adopted, and what he resolved upon one day, he betrayed the next. Charles was, moreover, much attached to Henry de Navarre ; he abhorred his mother's rule, and could scarcely contain his rage, when, with wary caution, upon indifferent matters, Catherine gradually revealed her designs. His jealous hate of his brother d'Anjou, and his fear of his duplicity were evidently not assumed, as they maintained ascendancy over the king's mind to the last moment of his life. If Charles's alienation from his mother was put on at this period, it is certain that the semblance was never again discarded ; for the courtiers, during the remaining years of the king's life, lived in perpetual expectation of hearing of the disgrace of Catherine, and even of her banishment from France. No condition could be more deplorable than that of the unfortunate Charles IX., hating those nearest to him with sullen intensity, and yet urged by their representations to deeds of fury, for the which, when the paroxysm subsided, the miserable king suffered agonies of repentance.

The cardinal Alexandrini, sought immediate audience of the king, on his arrival at Blois. Charles positively declined the alliance with Portugal, saying " that he had other views for his sister." The prelate continued his expostulations ; and represented the hienousness of his concessions to the Huguenots,

and the repugnance which madame Marguerite herself felt at contracting marriage with one out of the pale of the church. The king listened with visible impatience ; at length, he exclaimed, in the ambiguous language which he usually adopted at the period : “ M. le cardinal, would to God that I might explain all ! You would then understand, as well as the sovereign pontiff, that there is nothing more conducive to establish religion, and to exterminate the foes of the church, than this marriage.”¹ The cardinal then sought audience of Catherine, and the duke d'Anjou ; and, finally, he retired, after a sojourn of some days, very well satisfied, it is stated, with the result of his mission.

Queen Jeanne and her suite arrived at Tours, soon after the cardinal made his appearance at Blois. The queen was there met by a messenger, praying her, in the name of king Charles, to take up her abode in the citadel of Tours, or at her old abode of Plessis, until after the departure of the legate. The request seems to have excited the queen's indignation. She says, in a letter written to her son : “ The queen does not wish me to go to Blois until the legate is gone. They were all in a great hurry for my arrival here, though now they seem to make no great haste to see me.” Jeanne's ancient prejudices against the castle of Plessis apparently still subsisted, for she chose to remain in Tours until the papal envoy de-

¹ Mezeray, Hist. de France, Vie de Charles IX. Aubigné. De Thou.

parted. Coligny had, likewise, been requested by the king to retire from court during the visit of the legate, in order that no pretext of offence might be given to either party. The king previously assured the admiral, "that the legate might say and do what he liked, but that, despite of all and everybody, the marriage between Henry and Marguerite should be accomplished."

Queen Catherine, madame Marguerite, the widowed princess of Condé, her future daughter-in-law Marie de Cleves, and other ladies of the court, immediately visited Jeanne at Tours, leaving king Charles at Blois. Marguerite, meanwhile, whose destinies the arrival of Jeanne so deeply affected, conducted herself, when in the queen's presence, with such prudence and dignity, as greatly to excite her approval. Probably, the instructions of her mother, and more than all, the dreaded menaces of her brother, the king, may have influenced the conduct of the princess on this occasion; for she was even induced to intimate to queen Jeanne how favourably she was impressed with the merit of the prince of Navarre. To her private friends, however, Marguerite ceased not bitterly to repeat "that she would never resign herself willingly to the loss of the duke de Guise, to whom she had given her affections and her faith; neither would she, of her own free will, accept for a husband the duke's greatest enemy."¹ "Madame Marguerite," wrote

¹ Davila, *Hist. des Guerres civiles de la France*, t. i. p. 267.—Edition in 4to.

Jeanne, to her son, from Tours, "has paid me every honour and welcome in her power to bestow; and she has frankly owned to me the agreeable ideas which she has formed of you. With her beauty and wit, she exercises great influence with the queen-mother, and the king, and messieurs her younger brothers."

The day following the arrival of the queen of Navarre, the conferences opened between Jeanne and Catherine respecting the marriage. It was Jeanne's intention that her son should be married by proxy; after that ceremony, the queen desired to conduct Marguerite to Pau, to her youthful bridegroom. This design was unpalatable in the extreme, both to queen Catherine and to her daughter. Catherine demanded, in her son's name, first, that the marriage between Henry and Marguerite accomplished, that they should reside at the court of France; secondly, that Marguerite should not be compelled to attend the prayers, or the *prêches*, of the Huguenots; but that, wherever she went, her husband should provide her with a chapel, priests, and with the other requisites for the celebration of mass; thirdly, that the prince of Béarn should refrain from the public exercise of his religion when at court.¹ When these preliminary articles were agreed upon, Catherine proposed that they should then discuss the minor stipulations of revenue, jewels, and dower. Indignant at the subterfuge used to bring her to the court, to propose such demands,

¹ M.S. Cotton, Vesp. F. vi. fol 1. B. Museum.—Inedited.

Jeanne rejected the negotiation altogether upon this basis. The only gleam of hope that had risen in the queen's mind, through all these transactions, was, that Marguerite might eventually be won to conformity with the Huguenot ritual; a trust totally at variance with the proposals of the court. "Madame," exclaimed the intrepid de Rosny, "cut short the negotiation while you may. Return to your own country. Believe me, that if these nuptials are ever celebrated at Paris, the liveries worn on the occasion will be blood-coloured!" The queen, however, thought it her duty to persevere; she had not yet been admitted to audience of the king, and trusted in his oft-repeated assurances. "I strengthen my courage, as well I may," wrote Jeanne at this period, to her son's governor, M. de Beauvoir. "I try not to let their evil dealings ruffle my temper; but I am sorely tempted. You know well the personages here; suffice it, I trust them not more than I did."¹ Jeanne, at the same time, having been informed that the prince, impatient to join her, had advanced as far as the town of Tartas, she wrote to her son the following interesting letter; to which the princess Catherine added a postscript, as will be seen.

QUEEN JEANNE TO THE PRINCE OF NAVARRE.²

MON FILS,

The long account that I have already sent to you of the discourse which I held with the queen and Madame, ren-

¹ Vauvilliers, *Hist. de Jeanne d'Albret*, t. II.

² MS. Bibl. Roy. Dupuy, 209, 210, 211, fol. 39.—Inedited.

ders it needless for me to write a long letter, as I am sorry that I cannot yet impart any decisive resolution. I perceive, by what you have written to me, that you are journeying towards Tartas as we had resolved: but as it appears that our affairs here have still to be settled, both by the pen and the eye, I pray and command you not to quit Béarn until you have received another despatch from me: if you have already travelled some way, devise an expedient to return upon your steps, as you may easily do. This is my advice, and that of all here who understand how things are: nothing is talked of at court but to bring you hither speedily, even before we have concluded anything, which the queen has said to me three times, depends solely upon your decision and will. As I clearly perceive, the said lady believes that all I say proceeds from my own head alone, and that you have a separate opinion and will from myself (as you know Le Croc insinuated to her majesty), when you write, I beg of you, my son, to request me, under your own hand, to remember all you have said and enjoined, especially on the inclination which Madame manifests upon religious matters, intimating, that it is that consideration alone which prevents you from concluding the negotiation. I can then show her majesty this under your own hand; she will then know that your inclinations and my own are identical, which will very much advance our affairs.

I assure you, mon fils, that I am in great trouble; for they taunt me without mercy; and I have need of all the patience in the world. I must inform you that Madame Marguerite has given me every honour and welcome in her power to bestow; she has frankly owned to me the agreeable idea which she has formed of you. With her beauty and wit, she exercises great influence with the queen-mother, the king, and with messieurs her younger brothers. Should she embrace our faith, I may say it will be the most

fortunate event in the world ; for not only our House, but the entire realm of France will partake in this happiness, judging from the prudence and wisdom which she already displays. If she, however, remains obstinate in the profession of her present faith, she being attached to it as it is reported, it is to be feared that this marriage will entail the ruin of our souls, and of our country, and prove so great an advantage to the Papists, considering the kind of favour which the queen-mother bears us, that our peril will be followed by the destruction of all the churches of France. Therefore, my son, if ever you had need to supplicate the Almighty, it is now in this our extremity. I, for my part, pray to Him incessantly to aid us in this negotiation ; so that this marriage may not be accomplished in wrath, as our chastisement, but granted, as a merciful blessing to augment His glory and our repose.

My sister, the princess,¹ and my niece² are here : they agree like the fingers of my hand in (*illegible*) themselves perpetually, and I come in for my share, like everybody else. I find them both much changed ; they have assumed airs which I esteem as extraordinary as they are disagreeable. If you cannot make love with better grace than your cousin,³ I counsel you, mon fils, to leave the matter alone. Nevertheless, I shall not fail to speak to the king on all these subjects ; which when I have done, I will send you information thereof. The queen does not wish me to go to Blois until the legate is gone : they were all in a great hurry for my arrival here ; though now they seem to make no haste to see me. The count de Mansfeld is at Blois, and very clamorous for his money. I pray you,

¹ Françoise d'Orleans, widow of the prince de Condé, killed at Jarnac.

² Marie de Cleves, betrothed to the young Condé.

³ The Prince de Condé.

mon fils, remember what I told you respecting the intended passage of some of the count's troops through Béarn. Your sister Catherine has been indisposed. I am now waiting the reply they mean to send me from the court. My son, I beseech you pray fervently that God may guide us; for if ever you needed His aid it is now. As all your words and actions are watched and reported at court, forget not, my son, to attend diligently the prayers and *prêches* of our ministers: you will be able to judge from the minute facts which the queen mentioned to me, how alert they all are to profit by everything which occurs.

Monsieur de Montmorency has written to me, to say that the King and Monsieur are willing to see him at court; but that the queen makes objection: he requests me to procure the consent of the said lady, that he may accompany you hither—which thing, mon fils, I have promised to obtain, should your favour here be sufficient to accomplish it. Mon fils, I pray you forget not to write as I have requested you to do; and attend diligently to your religious duties and to my affairs. As for your health, I confide it to the care of M. de Beauvoir, and of M. de Got. I pray God, mon fils, that, for your salvation and His glory, He may give you all needful things.

Written at Tours, this 21st day of February, by

*Je vous prie de m'écrire
amie M AMME*

“Monsieur, j'ay veu Madame que j'ay troué fort belle et euse bien désiré que vous l'eusié vue: ie luy ay bien parle pour vous quelle vous tint en sa bonne grace ce quelle

ma promis, et m'a fait bien bonne chère, et m'a donné un beau petit chien, que j'aime bien."¹

At length, the answer arrived which the queen had been expecting at Tours. King Charles entreated his aunt to repair without delay to Blois, that under his own immediate auspices, the negotiation might be concluded to the satisfaction of all parties. Jeanne being resolved that the rupture of the negotiation should not be attributed to a want of conciliation on her part, assented to the king's demand. She was attended to Blois by the members of her retinue, including count Louis of Nassau,² her faithful friend, who was also interested in the treaty, as far as it concerned the proposed campaign in Flanders. "The count Louis de Nassau is the only one here of my party, who supports me altogether; he sees as I do, that not much faith is to be placed in the professions of this court, and the courtiers," exclaims Jeanne sadly, in a letter written to the baron de Beauvoir.

The queen of Navarre was received at the portal of the castle of Blois, by Charles and his court. The royal guard was under arms; cannon saluted, and

¹ Catherine's little billet to her brother is as follows—"Monsieur, —I have seen madame, whom I think very beautiful, and I wish much that you could also see her. I talked well to her for you; and asked her to hold you in her gracious favour, the which she promised me to do. She gave me very cordial welcome, and has presented me with a beautiful little dog, that I love much."

² Count Louis of Nassau was the brother of the prince of Orange, who, with his brothers, had been deprived of their inheritance by the duke of Alba.

the bells of the collegiate church of St. Sauveur rang merrily in honour of her arrival. The king manifested his joy at the meeting by most vehement demonstrations; he repeatedly embraced the queen, clasped her hand, and frowned signal defiance at any orthodox courtier, who ventured, as Charles thought, to pay his *devoirs* to the heretic queen with insufficient fervour. He publicly addressed Jeanne as “*sa bonne et chère tante; son tout; sa mieux aymée.*”¹ Led by the king, Jeanne entered the castle; in the grand hall, she was received by queen Catherine, the young queen Elizabeth of Austria, and by Madame, attended by all the principal ladies of the court of France; for such had been the express commands of king Charles. Marguerite advanced to kiss the queen’s hand, closely followed, however, by her lady-in-waiting, madame de Curton.² It is asserted by those historians, who affirm that the king was privy to the design of a general massacre of the Huguenots, and signed the peace of 1570 with this intent, that on the evening of the day of Jeanne’s arrival at Blois, Charles demanded of his mother, “Well, madame, what do you think of affairs now? Do I not play my part excellently?” “Very well, my son,” replied Catherine de Medici; “but it is nothing if you do not persevere.” “Leave that to me, madame,” rejoined the king, “you will

¹ Mém. de l’Etoile, t. i. p. 43. Mém. de Tavannes. De Thou. D’Aubigné. Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique, art. Jeanne de Navarre.

² Charlotte de Vienne, widow of the sieur de Chabannes, baron de Curton, preceptress and first lady to Marguerite.

see how well I will manage to thrust them altogether into our net !”¹

The day following, the conferences on the marriage were renewed ; Catherine, however, still retained the conduct of the affair. While paying the utmost outward respect to the queen of Navarre, Catherine had recourse to every artifice to annoy and thwart her. Jeanne bore all with patient fortitude ; firm in her decisions, it was in vain that Catherine sought to compel, or to surprise her into submission. “ I assure you, mon fils, that they taunt me without mercy, and I have need of all the patience in the world,” had been Jeanne’s mournful comment to her son on the treatment which she received while at Tours. A few days after her arrival at Blois, she wrote : “ mon fils, I am compelled to negotiate quite contrary to my expectations, and to their promises. I have no longer liberty to speak to Madame even, but only to the queen-mother,¹ *qui me traite à la fourche*, as my messenger will recount. As for Monsieur,² he tries also to domineer over me, though in a very cautious manner, half in jest and half by deceit, as you know. Madame, I only see in the saloon of the queen, from whom she never stirs ; and she only retires into her own apartments during the hours when it is impossible for me to visit her. She is then always accompanied by madame de Curton, so that I can never speak a word that the latter does not

¹ Mathieu, Hist. de France, t. i. p. 340.

² Henri, duc d’Anjou.

hear. I have not yet shewn Madame your letter ; but she shall see it soon. I mentioned it to her, and she replied in general terms, (being very discreet,) of obedience and reverence to you and to myself, in case she ever becomes your wife." Catherine peremptorily insisted that her daughter might be at liberty to exercise her faith in any part of Jeanne's dominions ; and that a chapel, with an establishment of priests and choristers, should be maintained for her in the palaces of Pau and Nérac. She, moreover, repeated her demand that the prince of Navarre, and his consort should spend the greater part of the year at court ; where the prince, in common with all Huguenots, according to the articles of the late edict, was prohibited from causing the celebration of divine service after the Protestant ritual. The decision of purpose shown by the queen of Navarre, and her perfect self-command, greatly incensed Catherine. One day she asked the marshal de Tavannes, what he recommended her to do, in order to read the mind and intentions of the queen of Navarre. " Madame," replied the marshal, " put her into a passion, and keep yourself cool ; you will then learn everything from her, and she nothing from you. This is the way to manage women in general."¹

Despite of Jeanne's self-command and dignity, Catherine, however, felt that she held her in her toils. Days elapsed, and nothing was decided upon ; she had succeeded in humiliating Jeanne by compelling her

¹ Mém. de Tavannes, chap. 24.

presence at court ; but she resolved to abase her yet more. It has been stated by several historians, that the queen-mother's delays arose from a perfidious project which she then revolved, of transferring the place of conference from Blois to Paris, after having insisted on the presence of the prince of Navarre, and by anticipating the fatal massacre, to deliver her daughter from an alliance equally detested by both. When queen Jeanne remonstrated with Catherine on the different treatment which she had been led to anticipate, and commented on the eager desire manifested by the court for the conferences to open, the queen flatly denied that such had ever been the case ; or that other treatment had been guaranteed to the Huguenots. She misrepresented Jeanne's words, in order to create divisions in her party ; while she affirmed that the prince would concede the mass to his wife were he not under his mother's tutelage ; and she desired the queen to contradict this statement if she dared, by sanctioning the arrival of Henry at court. " Mon fils," wrote Jeanne indignantly, " nothing progresses ; and they do all in their power to make me come to a precipitate decision, instead of conducting affairs with order and gravity. I have remonstrated upon three separate occasions with the queen ; but she ridicules me, and afterwards states to every one just the very contrary to that which I said ; therefore, when many of our friends blame me, I know not well how to contradict the queen, for when I venture to say to her majesty, ' Madame, it

is reported that I have said such and such things to you,' although she it was who herself spread the statement, she denies it flatly, laughing in my face, and treating me in such shameful fashion, that you may believe my patience surpasses that of Griselda herself."

Hard as this treatment was to bear, Jeanne had departed from Pau with the full persuasion that nothing but contumely awaited her at the court of the Valois. She had waged a successful war against Catherine and her party, who, while they abated nothing of their hatred, offered concession only to command signal retaliation. She had prepared her council to find the offers of the court, which in the abstract appeared inviting, to be delusive and treacherous. "Can the queen, who never pardons, pardon me?" had been Jeanne's frequent exclamation. Against her better judgment, the confederation of the princes had been dissolved; and Jeanne felt that the presence of her son at court was alone wanting to perfect the ruin of her party. "The more I watch the course of events, the more I dread the issue for my son, in this court so treacherous and licentious!"¹ exclaims Jeanne in one of her letters, to de Beauvoir, the prince's governor.

Catherine, though immersed in her projects, and unable to conquer the resolution displayed by the queen of Navarre, felt that the menacing gaze of

¹ Lettre de la Reine de Navarre à M. de Beauvoir, MS. Bibl. Roy.

king Charles rested upon her. She had demanded the conduct of the negotiation, and it was conceded. Days had been spent in futile contest; the king manifestly had difficulty in repressing his impatience; while Jeanne d'Albret positively refused to summon her son, or to yield to the proposal respecting the mass. The queen, therefore, suddenly declined to negotiate longer in person; but requested Jeanne to appoint commissioners to debate the question with certain members of the privy council. She, likewise, permitted the queen of Navarre to summon three noted ministers, Espina, Merlin de Vaulx, and Vinet, to aid her by their counsel. Jeanne immediately wrote to her son, to send Francourt, her chancellor, to Blois. This celebrated letter, written in terms of indignant protest against the humiliation to which she was subjected, demonstrates the heroic spirit ever animating Jeanne d'Albret, as well as the corruption of the court.

QUEEN JEANNE TO THE PRINCE OF NAVARRE.¹

MON FILS,

I am in travail, and in such extremity of suffering, that had I not foreseen all that has happened, I must have succumbed beneath the torment. The haste in which I despatch the bearer of this will prevent me from writing to you so long a letter as my last. I have, therefore, confided to him notes, and various memoranda, upon which he will answer all you please to ask. I should have

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. This letter has been published by Le Laboureur, *Additions aux Mém. de Castelnau* t. i. p. 858.

sent Richardière, but he is too weary to undertake the journey at present; besides, I shall despatch him soon after the departure of this courier, whom I send for a special purpose. I am compelled to negotiate quite contrary to my expectations, and their past promises. I have no longer liberty to speak even to Madame, but only to the queen-mother, *qui me traite à la fourche*, as my messenger will recount. As for Monsieur, he tries also to domineer over me, but in a very cautious manner, half in jest, and half by deceit, as you know. Madame, I only meet in the saloon of the queen, from whence she never stirs; and she retires into her own apartments only during the hours that it is impossible for me to visit her. She is always accompanied by madame de Curton; so that I can never speak a word that the latter does not hear. I have not yet shown Madame your letter; but she shall see it soon. I mentioned that I had one for her: she replied in general terms (being very discreet) of obedience, and reverence to you and to myself, in case she becomes your wife.

Perceiving, my son, that nothing progresses, but that they do all in their power to make me come to a precipitate decision, instead of conducting affairs with order and gravity, I have remonstrated upon three separate occasions with the queen; but she ridicules me; and afterwards repeats to every one just the very contrary to that which I said: therefore, when many of my friends blame me, I know not well how to contradict the queen's words, for when I venture to say to her majesty, "Madame, it is reported that I have said such-and-such a thing to you," although it was she herself who spread the statement, she denies the thing flatly, laughing in my face, and treating me in such shameful fashion, that you may believe my patience surpasses that of Griselda himself. Moreover, if

I venture to remark how far I find everything from the hope that I entertained of speaking and conferring with her earnestly and in private, she denies all; and you may judge of the position in which I am placed, from the summary of our discourse, which I send by the courier. When I leave the apartment of the queen, I am beset by a multitude of Huguenots, who come to converse with me, more to spy out my proceedings, than to offer me aid. To some of these, I am obliged to dissemble greatly, to prevent more serious difference. I have visitors, also, of another temper; against whom I defend myself as well as I can. I cannot say that I am without counsel: for every one gives me his advice; but not two of these opinions agree.

The queen has just intimated to me, perceiving that I do nothing but vacillate, that as we cannot personally agree in this negotiation, that some of your people must assemble to debate the matter. I send you the list of those whom her majesty has been pleased to nominate on both sides. All is decided by the queen; which is the reason, mon fils, that I despatch this courier in haste to beg you to send me my chancellor; for I have none with me here, who can equal him in learning and conduct; otherwise I shall relinquish the negotiation; as I came here on the understanding alone, that the queen and myself were to debate matters together. She (the queen) does nothing but ridicule my assertions: and will not yield in her demand respecting the mass, although nothing was stipulated before on this point, as she well knows. The king wishes me only to write to Francourt.

Their majesties have, at length, permitted me to summon several ministers of our religion; not, however, for purposes of controversy, but to take counsel with them on these matters. I have, therefore, sent for MM. d'Es-

piner, Merlin, and others. I observe, however, that their aim is to obtain your presence here; therefore, mon fils, *look well to yourself*, for if the king undertakes to accomplish this, as it is said he will do, I am greatly troubled for the result. I have, therefore, despatched this courier on two errands: the principal one being, to inform you how greatly they have altered their mode of negotiating with me; and how needful it is, therefore, for M. de Francourt to come without delay, as I have written to him. I request you, moreover, my son, to persuade and command him to set out, should he make objections to the journey. If you could realize the distress, and anxiety which I suffer, you would pity me; for they treat me with the greatest rigour, and with foolish discourse and ridicule, instead of negotiating as the gravity of the subject merits; so that I have great difficulty in repressing my wrath. I have, however, resolved not to be irritated; and the patience which I demonstrate is miraculous: but I know that if I have hitherto had occasion for forbearance, I shall still more need it. I fear that I shall soon fall ill with anxiety, as already my health is failing greatly.

I approve of your letter, and shall present it to Madame on the first opportunity. As for her picture, I will send and procure one for you from Paris. She is beautiful, discreet, and graceful: but she has been educated in the midst of the most vicious and corrupt court that can be imagined. I see no one here exempt from its evil influences. Your cousin, the marchioness,¹ is so greatly altered, that she exhibits no sign of religion, if it be not that she abstains from attending mass: for in everything else, except that she refrains from this idolatry, she lives like other Papists; and my sister, the princess,² sets

¹ Marie de Cleves, marquise d'Isle, betrothed to Condé.

² Françoise d'Orleans, the widowed princesse de Condé.

even a worse example. This I write to you in confidence. The bearer of this letter will tell you the licence which the king already indulges in: it is a pity. I would not, for any consideration whatever, consent that you should abide here. For these reasons, I desire to see you married, that you and your wife may be withdrawn from this corrupt society; for, although I believed the licence great, it surpasses my anticipations.

I send you a *bouquet*, as you are now upon your preferment; also, some buttons to loop your hat and plume. The men here cover themselves with jewels: the king has recently purchased gems to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns; and he buys many almost daily. It is reported that the queen and monsieur go soon to Paris. If I remain in this part, I shall retire into Vendomois. Mon fils, send back the courier without delay: say to me that you dare not write to Madame for fear of displeasing her, not knowing how she received the letter which you have already sent to her. Your sister is well.

I have read the letter which M. de la Case has written to you. I advise you to inquire more into the circumstances of the person for whom he intercedes. I again enjoin upon you to send M. de Francourt without delay, as it has been thought expedient to put an end to my own personal negotiation. I still maintain my opinion that it is best for you to return into Béarn. You have, doubtless, perceived, my son, by the letter that I have lately written, how earnestly they are striving to separate you from God and from myself: you may judge by what I now write, whether they have relaxed their said purpose, and how great is my anxiety respecting you. I implore you, my son, cease not to pray to God: you have always need of His protection, and especially at this time. I pray that He will assist, and bestow upon you, mon fils,

the utmost that you can desire. From Blois, the 8th day of March, from

Vostre bonne mère, et meilleure amie,

JEHANNE.

Mon fils, since writing the above, having no means of delivering your letter to Madame, I have repeated to her its contents: she replied, "that before these negotiations commenced, you were well aware of the religion which she professed, and how devoted she was to her faith." I told her, that those who commenced the first overtures, had represented the matter very differently, and that they had even intimated that the question would not be one of difficult solution, as she already had shown some inclination towards our faith: and that without this conviction I should not have urged the marriage: nevertheless, while it was yet time, I besought her to reflect well. At other times, when I have spoken to her on this subject, she has never answered so peremptorily, and even rudely. I believe, however, that Madame speaks as she has been commanded to do: also, that the story respecting her inclination for the reformed doctrines was only a device, to lure us to this negotiation. I never lose an opportunity to draw from her some avowal which might console me. I asked her this evening whether she had any message to send to you. Madame for some time made no reply; at length, on my pressing her for an answer, she replied "that she could not send you any message without having first obtained permission: but that I was to present to you her commendations, and to say that you were to come to the court;" but I, my son, *I bid you do quite the contrary.*

The lofty spirit of the queen of Navarre, at length,

became thoroughly roused at the treatment which she experienced, and at the insulting irony of Catherine's tone. She, therefore, intimated to the king, that unless the question of the marriage of her son with the princess Marguerite, was treated with the gravity and importance which the subject demanded, she should at once retire from court. She informed Catherine, at the same time, that the trifling insincerity of her mode of procedure, having raised in her own mind, and in that of the principal Huguenot chieftains, doubts whether her majesty had proffered the alliance between Henry and the princess in good faith, she had thought it expedient to arrest the journey of the prince, who would, therefore, retire again to Pau. The angry consternation of Catherine, at this announcement, was unbounded; her desire was to draw Henry to the court; and when once there, Catherine believed too confidently in the spells of luxurious pleasure, which she had hitherto so successfully cast round previous victims, to doubt of her ultimate triumph over the habitual reverence which the prince gave to his mother. She had even boldly insinuated as much to Jeanne d'Albret. The king, likewise, addressed frequent letters to the prince, pressingly inviting him to share the splendours and recreations of the court, such as, "hunting, banquetting, and other pleasures, which *mon frère*, Montafié, whom I send to you, will explain." But Henry indignantly resented the treatment which his mother experienced; he trusted the

depth of her love, and prepared implicitly to follow her counsels. The prince had journeyed from Tarbes to La Rochelle, when Jeanne's letter, requesting that Francourt might be sent, reached him. Without delay, therefore, Henry set out for Pau, despite the remonstrances of his governor, de Beauvoir, and even of Francourt himself, who advised the prince to remain at La Rochelle, at least until the queen reiterated her directions for his return into Béarn. Henry, nevertheless, insisted on following his mother's directions to the very letter; he had given his solemn promise to act, throughout the negotiation, in strict subordination to her commands. The society of the beautiful bride offered to him by king Charles, proved no lure to the prince. The countess de Guiche was, at this period, the object of Henry's homage; while the frightful libels current, respecting the levity of Marguerite de Valois, and the little *empressement* which she demonstrated to accept his suit, effectually repressed any anxiety to meet her. "I shall remain in this place until I hear certain and satisfactory tidings from the queen my mother," wrote Henry to Caumont de la Force, after his return to Pau.

Aware of the susceptibility of her son's temperament, there was nothing that Jeanne dreaded so much for him as a prolonged sojourn at the court of the Valois; and the excesses into which Henry was subsequently betrayed, proved the wisdom of her caution. One of Jeanne's greatest sorrows in

respect to her son, was, that in his love of pleasure and licence, he resembled his father, Antoine de Bourbon. The queen was often heard to express a conviction, that the profligate morals of the princes of the houses of Bourbon and Valois, would some day occasion the overthrow of their respective dynasties—a prediction which has since met with literal accomplishment. “Mon fils,” observed the queen, in one of her many letters to her son, “so abandoned are the women in this court, that it is they, instead of your sex, who resort to the arts of seduction.” The contrast between her own young and innocent daughter, and the wanton dames of Catherine’s court, struck Jeanne so forcibly, that she could not help exclaiming to Beauvoir, “You cannot imagine how graceful and lovely my daughter appears in the midst of this court! Oh! M. de Beauvoir, what a court! I weary in it exceedingly!”

After the despatch of Jeanne’s letter to her son, affairs progressed more satisfactorily for the prompt solution of the obstacles attending the marriage. Charles, perceiving that in his mother’s hands, the affair became more complicated, interfered with characteristic impetuosity. He insisted, and in so positive a manner, that Catherine dared not resist the mandate, that his aunt should consult whom she pleased on the matter; and, moreover, receive such counsellors, if so she desired, at Blois. He forbade Catherine to intervene with her own personal nego-

tiation, which the king bitterly observed, always rendered every affair impracticable. Demands of a most embarrassing nature had been recently proposed by Catherine, relative to the solemnization of the marriage ceremonies, and which threatened to prove a difficulty insuperable as the request which she had made, relative to the establishment of a chapel, with its complement of priests for the celebration of mass before the princess Marguerite, when she sojourned at Pau. The ministers, Merlin, Espina, and Vinet, had already arrived at Blois, where, by the king's commands, they received most courteous entertainment. To discuss the perplexing demands which had been presented by Catherine's directions, queen Jeanne summoned these ministers to her private apartments, on the 14th day of March, 1572. Availing herself of Charles's permission to consult whom she would, the queen sent to ask the aid and presence of queen Elizabeth's ambassadors, Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith. Walsingham, in a despatch, probably addressed to Lord Burleigh, thus recounts the interview:—

“ Since I wrote last unto your lordship, there hath fallen out nothing worthy of advertisement. The matter of the marriage between the prince of Navarre and the Lady Marguerite continueth doubtful, whereof Sir Thomas Smith and I have the more cause so to judge, for that on the 14th of this month, it pleased the queen of Navarre to send for us to dinner, and after dinner was ended, she called us into an inner

chamber, where we found twelve others, of the which, three were ministers.

“Immediately upon our coming, she showed unto us, that, with the consent of the queen-mother, she had sent for us, as the ministers and ambassadors of a Christian princess, whom she had sundry causes to honour, to confer with us, and certain others in whom she reposed great trust, touching certain difficulties, which were impediments to the marriage, which thing she would communicate to us after dinner. She said unto us, that she had now the wolf by the ear; for that in concluding, or not concluding the marriage, she saw danger every way; and that no matter, though she had dealt in matters of great consequence, did so much trouble her as this; for that she could not tell what to resolve. Among divers causes of fear, she showed us that two things chiefly troubled her. The first, that the king would needs have her son and the lady Marguerite, the marriage proceeding, to be courtiers, and yet would not yield to grant him (the prince) any exercise of his religion, the next way to make him become an atheist; as also no hope to grow of the conversion of the lady Marguerite, for that it was said she should not resort to any sermon. The second, that they would needs condition that the lady Marguerite, remaining constant in the Catholic religion, should have wheresoever she went into the country of Béarn, her mass—a thing, which, the queen said, she could in nowise consent unto, having cleansed her said

country of all idolatry. Besides," said she, "the lady Marguerite remaining a Catholic whensoever she shall come to inhabit in the country of Béarn, the papists there will make a party which will breed divisions in the country, and make them the more unwilling to give ear to the gospel, they having a staff to lean unto.

"So dinner ended, the said queen of Navarre sent for us into an inner chamber, where we found a dozen others, of certain chosen gentlemen of the religion, and three ministers. She declared unto us briefly what had passed between the king, the queen-mother, and her, touching the marriage; as also, what was the cause of the present stay, of the same wherein she desired us severally to say our opinion, and that as sincerely as we would answer unto God. The stay stood upon three points, and concerned a good conscience. First, whether she might substitute a papist for her son's procurator in the *fiançailles*; which thing was generally agreed that she might. Secondly, whether the said procurator going to mass, incontinently after the said *fiançailles*, the same being expressly forbidden in his letters procuratory, it would not breed an offence to the godly. It was agreed that forasmuch as he was expressly forbidden the same by the letters procuratory, the same could justly minister no offence, for he was no longer a procurator than he kept himself within the limits of the letters procuratory. Thirdly, whether she might consent that the words of betrothment should be

pronounced by a priest in his priestly attire, with his surplice and stole. This latter point was long debated; and for that, the ministers concluded that the same (though it were a thing indifferent) would breed a general offence unto the godly, the queen protested that she would never consent for no respect to do that thing whereof there might grow a public scandal; for she knew, she said, that she should so incur God's high displeasure; upon which protestation, it was generally concluded, that in no case she might yield thereto, her own conscience gain-saying the same; so that now the marriage is generally holden for broken; notwithstanding, I am of a contrary opinion, and do think assuredly that hardly any cause will make them break—so many necessary causes there are, why the same should proceed.”¹

Walsingham's shrewd conjecture was verified: the king was firmly resolved upon the marriage. During his short, and troublous career, Charles exhibited equal pertinacity of purpose, on one occasion only—the banishment from France of his brother d'Anjou, by compelling his unwilling acceptance of the crown of Poland. The king's exasperation at the obstacles perpetually raised to thwart his project, might possibly have been used to Jeanne's utter discomfiture, had it not been for the absence of her valiant son, and his five hundred gentlemen and chieftains, including

¹ MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. vi. fol. 1.—Inedited. Dated March 29th, 1572.

Coligny himself, who, perhaps, at the queen's own suggestion, still remained aloof from the court at Châtillon. Whilst Jeanne lived, her political sagacity saved the leaders of the Huguenot party from the snare subsequently laid for them by Catherine de Medici; and the historian, in reviewing the momentous events, and the duplicity and treachery practised by the court, previous to the fatal eve of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, cannot but conjecture, in amazement, on the blind credulity, amounting almost to stupidity, which led such men as Coligny, Montgomery La Rochefoucauld, and La Noue, to yield themselves unresisting victims to the vengeance of a princess, whom they had defied and menaced. Had Jeanne d'Albret lived, no such fatal slaughter would, in all probability, have stained the annals of French history. King Charles redoubled his expressions of favour towards Jeanne d'Albret: he became her constant companion, and assured her daily that, let what might happen, Henry would espouse his sister; and that no molestation of the Huguenots, or of their worship, should be permitted. Four commissioners were nominated, at length, by the king, and four by the queen of Navarre, after the arrival of her chancellor, Francourt, to go into the details of the marriage, and arrive at some compromise. The king appointed the lord-keeper Birague, the count de Retz, Biron, and the count de Maulevrier: Jeanne d'Albret's commissioners were, Francourt, the count

Louis de Nassau, La Noue, and her secretary, Le Royer.¹

The debates between these ministers continued until nearly the close of the month of March ; the queen-mother, through her adherents, de Retz and Birague, continued to insist upon the exercise of the Romish worship being allowed to Marguerite, when in Béarn ; and, that the ceremonial of the marriage should be arranged according to the authorized ritual. Compromise seemed hopeless, however well disposed the commissioners individually were, to agree on the marriage. Wearied by these dissensions and cavils, Charles suddenly declared it to be his royal pleasure to discard all conditions whatever, as it was clear that the Huguenots and his Roman Catholic subjects could never agree ; and to proceed at once to stipulate the articles of his sister's marriage contract, provided, that queen Jeanne would, on her side, concede a point, and sanction the presence of the prince of Navarre at court, instead of solemnizing his nuptials with Marguerite by procuration. If the king is to be considered sincere in the demonstrations of friendship which he offered to Jeanne, and to her friends, a request pregnant with results more fatal, he could scarcely have preferred ; while, if Charles, with execrable duplicity, had throughout dissimulated his true sentiments, this demand of his must be regarded as a master stroke of craft, far exceeding any

¹ MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. vi. fol. 1.—Inedited.

of his mother's achievements—if, indeed, it were not suggested by Catherine herself. The proposal of the king made great impression upon the Huguenots in the queen's suite ; its apparent generosity, and the confidence it evinced in their loyal faith, greatly moved them. Catherine preserved a gloomy and sinister silence ; Marguerite was indifferent and volatile ; the duke d'Anjou, obsequious and plausible. Solicitations poured upon Jeanne from all quarters, to meet Charles in his liberal desire to propitiate his subjects, and to restore peace to his realm.

The queen's health was sinking rapidly beneath the anxieties of her position ; she had striven nobly and resolutely to ward from her kingdom, and from her house, the perils she too surely descried. Her distrust of the court had not diminished ; and her disapproval of the proposed alliance, augmented rather than decreased. Months had elapsed in vain protests, on her part, against the honour destined for her. She had seen herself deserted by all, excepting by her gallant son. Coligny, Condé, La Rochefoucauld, and Montgomery, had implored her to rescind her decision ; and amongst her own immediate subjects and counsellors, Francourt, Beauvoir, Le Royer, Grammont, and d'Arros, warmly seconded the desires of the court. The king's sudden withdrawal of every condition and stipulation, excepting the simple, and apparently very reasonable request that the prince of Navarre should evince his sense of the honour done him, by coming in person to

receive the hand of the beautiful Marguerite, left the queen without plea, or excuse for further opposition. Jeanne's consent was, at length, wrung from her; abandoned by all, she struggled no longer against what appeared her relentless destiny.

King Charles continued in too complacent a disposition to render the negotiation of the marriage articles difficult. Charles gave his sister the sum of 300,000 gold crowns—the crown valued at fifty-four sous. Catherine presented her daughter with a marriage gift of 200,000 livres Tournois.¹ Marguerite's brothers, the dukes d'Anjou and d'Alençon, each offered her the sum of 25,000 livres Tournois. The queen of Navarre, on her part, covenanted to surrender to her son on his marriage, the revenues of her county of Armagnac; and to secure, moreover, to the prince, an income of 11,000 livres Tournois, on her county of Marle: also, the lands ceded to her by the cardinal de Bourbon, on her own marriage with the duke de Vendôme. Marguerite's dower, in case she survived her husband, was fixed at the annual sum of 40,000 livres Tournois, secured on the duchy of Vendôme. Prince Henry, moreover, promised to spend the sum of 30,000 livres in furniture and decorations for the palace of his future bride. Queen Jeanne reserved to herself the pleasure of presenting the accustomed jewels, and rich vestments to the bride elect, so that

¹ Twenty-four thousand livres Tournois, amounted to about two thousand pounds sterling. It must be remembered that money in those days had about fifteen times its present value.

nothing was stipulated in the contract on that subject. The wedding gift presented by the old cardinal de Bourbon, to his nephew, was, the sum of 100,000 livres Tournois, and the estate of Châteauneuf in Thimerais.¹ So eager was the king to hasten the marriage, that the usual stipulation respecting pin-money for the royal bride, seems to have been totally overlooked. Not a sentence was inserted in the marriage contract respecting difference of religion.

When the marriage articles had received the signature of the queen of Navarre, Charles despatched a courier to the cardinal de Lorraine, who was then sojourning at Rome, directing him to apply without delay for a dispensation to enable the prince of Navarre to espouse his cousin, the princess Marguerite. The supreme pontiff, Pius V,² positively refused to grant this grace to the heretic son of the princess still stricken by the anathema launched by his predecessor in the pontificate. "Sooner than grant dispensation of marriage to a heretic, I would lose my head," exclaimed the fiery old pontiff. "This said prince of Navarre is unworthy of the favours of the church, while he remains an alien from her flock, and a member severed from her body!" This disinclination of pope Pius V. to sanction the

¹ Contrat de mariage de Madame Marguerite de France, avec le Roy de Navarre. Leonard, t. II. p. 594. Moetjens, t. II. p. 334.

² Michel Ghislieri succeeded Pius IV., in 1566. Before his elevation, he bore the title of cardinal bishop de Mondovi. Pius V. was canonized by Clement XI.

marriage, appears to exonerate the king, and even Catherine herself, from the charge that the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Eve was premeditated; a hint of the project, if resolved upon, imparted to the pontiff by Catherine's trusted agent, the cardinal de Lorraine, would doubtless have caused the favours of the church to be lavished with no sparing hand, by Pius V, in aid of so laudable a work.

The king flew into one of his accustomed transports of fury when informed of the pontiff's refusal to issue the requisite dispensation. The effect of this intelligence was very different upon the mind of Jeanne d'Albret. Every impediment to the completion of the alliance was hailed by her as a welcome interposition of Providence in her behalf. Her health having recently become so delicate and uncertain, as to warrant the most serious apprehensions on the part of her friends, the queen one day, hinted to Charles her desire to retire to Vendôme, pending the settlement of the negotiation with the Holy See, the king hastily replied: "No, no, *ma tante*, I honour you more than the pope, and I love my sister more than I fear his holiness. I am not a Huguenot, but neither am I a fool. If M. le Pape demeans himself too absurdly in this affair, I promise you that I will take Margot by the hand, and lead her to be married in full *prêche*."¹

Queen Jeanne submitted unwillingly to the mandate of the king: upon one pretext or another

¹ Mém. de l'Etoile, t. i. p. 47.

she still delayed the arrival of the prince her son. The restless disquietude of her mind augmented her indisposition. Worn out by perpetual watchings and anxieties, the spirit of the queen of Navarre longed for that repose which soon was to be vouchsafed.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VI.

Letter sent to queen Elizabeth by the queen of Navarre—Illness of the princess Catherine of Navarre—Distress of queen Jeanne—She intercedes for Charlotte de Bourbon, abbess de Jouarre—Arrival of the dispensation authorizing the marriage between Henry and Marguerite—Queen Jeanne summons her son—She consults the Calvinist ministers on the ceremonial to be observed at the nuptial ceremony—She departs from Blois—Her sojourn at Vendome—Her correspondence with mademoiselle de Bourbon—Arrival of the queen in Paris—She takes up her abode in the Hotel de Condé—Failing condition of her health—Her occupations—Her illness—Nature of the queen's malady—Her resignation—Her last interviews with Coligny and others—Her message to her daughter—Death of Jeanne d'Albret—Her decease supposed to have been occasioned by poison—Examination of her remains—Its result—Ceremony of her lying in state—Funeral obsequies of queen Jeanne—The intelligence of his mother's death reaches prince Henry at Chaunay—Illness of the king of Navarre—Epitaph and tomb of the queen of Navarre in the cathedral church of Vendome—Homage rendered to the memory of Jeanne d'Albret—Eulogiums on her character and virtues—Epigram composed in her honour—Bequests made by queen Jeanne in her will—Her device and motto—Her benefactions—Portraits of the queen of Navarre—Consternation occasioned by her decease—

Deportment of Coligny and the Huguenot chieftains—Arrival of the king of Navarre in Paris—Marriage of Henry and Marguerite—Attempted assassination of the admiral de Coligny—The massacre of St. Bartholomew—Letter of the cardinal de Lorraine to Charles IX.

As soon as every obstacle to the marriage between Henry and Marguerite had been removed by the unalterable determination of king Charles, Jeanne wrote to queen Elizabeth to apprise her of the event, and to thank her majesty for the notable aid and advice which she had derived from the English ambassadors, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Thomas Smith. Jeanne wrote thus to her potent ally, and warm friend :

QUEEN JEANNE TO ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

MADAME,

Events which order the destinies of great personages are usually so beset with difficulties, that it is impossible to divine their conclusion. Such has been the cause, madame, why I have not sooner informed you of the matters which I came to negotiate at this court. This uncertainty had not its rise, madame, in the want of good-will manifested by those chiefly concerned, but through the evil practices and devices of turbulent men, who opposed thus, both the public weal, and their own private welfare. Despite these impediments, He, who cares specially for those who rest on His wisdom and Providence, has looked down upon me with paternal favour, and has at length disposed the hearts of all to take final and determinate resolution to complete the marriage proposed between Madame Marguerite and my son. This, madame, was concluded yesterday. Although

the Evil One, since my arrival here, raised in many the spirit of dissension and opposition, God has manifested His gracious goodness to the overthrow of their malicious intent ; and has inspired those animated with benevolence, lovers of concord and repose, to accomplish this union. I would not, therefore, Madame, lose time in informing you of the event, so that I may rejoice with you, as with her who has so wisely foreseen how greatly this alliance may conduce, not only to the prosperity and peace of this realm, a thing which interests your majesty greatly, but may also extend its real benefits to neighbouring states.

Amongst so many results, which cannot fail to give you content, I will yet add my own peculiar satisfaction, knowing, madame, the friendship which you bear me, and that you will sympathize with my feelings. I should justly be accused of ingratitude, if I omitted, madame, to tender you my very humble thanks for the welcome services which MM. your ambassadors have rendered me here ; and as they informed me that it was by your special commandment, this knowledge doubles the obligations which I have so long received from your majesty. I entreat you, madame, to pardon the boldness which your goodness inspires, if I venture very earnestly to desire that I may soon have occasion to congratulate you on a similar event personal to yourself : for I will not conceal from you, madame, that as one wishful for your happiness and prosperity, I fail not daily to pray that God will speedily give you a husband, in whose society and presence yourself, your people, and your realm may enjoy the satisfaction and blessings which God promises to His children. While continuing to offer this supplication, I will further pray, madame, that He may bestow upon you a long and happy life, and a reign peaceful and prosperous, and such as your virtue merits. I commend myself very humbly, madame, to

your gracious favour. Written at Blois, this 5th day of April, by your majesty's

Humble and obedient sister,

JEHANNE.¹

Scarcely had Jeanne enjoyed a brief repose from the turmoil of dissension and debate, when madame Catherine, her daughter, fell alarmingly ill. Her malady was a violent cold, attended with inflammation of the lungs. According to the almost universal practice in these days in cases of illness of every description, the princess was bled copiously several times. "Amidst the joy that I feel at the conclusion of my son's marriage, God has seen fit to afflict me with great sorrow and anxiety respecting my daughter, who has fallen ill of a pleurisy, and for four days she remained without promise of amendment," wrote the queen to Charlotte de Bourbon, abbess de Jouarre, daughter of the duke de Montpensier. The seeds of pulmonary malady had likewise long been lurking in the constitution of the queen of Navarre; for consumptive disease was the fatal heritage of the houses of Bourbon and Savoy, from which latter Jeanne d'Albret maternally descended. Perhaps in watching by the side of her idolized child, Jeanne hastened the development of the malady which also had been consuming her own strength; or it is probable even, that in nursing her daughter, the malady was imbibed, considering her

¹ MS. Cotton, Vesp. F. vi. fol. 9.—Inedited.

predisposition to disease of the lungs, which was too soon to terminate her own brief, but glorious career.

During the four anxious days, while Catherine's life was in jeopardy, Jeanne, unselfish always, and practising so perfectly the difficult task of self-denial, in forgetting her own sorrow to serve others, employed herself in mediating between the duke de Montpensier, and his daughter, Charlotte de Bourbon. The duke de Montpensier was an ardent adherent of the Church of Rome. The nephew and heir of Charles de Bourbon, constable of France, his august descent, his wealth, and military repute, gave the duke great influence in the state. His first consort, Jacqueline de Longwy,¹ had, moreover, been chief lady of honour, and the favourite of Catherine de Medici, an office of supreme importance, where every political event was confirmed or frustrated, by the caprice of the queen. Madame de Montpensier's power would have been still more in the ascendant, had it not been for the religious opinions which she secretly professed. She was a woman of strong energy, and determination of purpose, somewhat feared by her husband, and by the courtiers. She governed her royal mistress by the very fervour of her will; while Catherine, confident in the sincerity of the affection borne towards her by the duchess—a senti-

¹ Jacqueline de Longwy, or de Givry, duchesse de Montpensier, daughter of the seigneur de Givry, and of Jeanne d'Angoulême, illegitimate sister of Francis I.

ment she so seldom inspired—loved and admired her for that characteristic in which the queen felt herself deficient. The representations of madame de Montpensier retarded the execution of Condé; and saved the life of Antoine de Bourbon, at the congress of Orleans, in 1560. Her sympathy sustained and consoled Jeanne d'Albret, during the previous persecution which she endured from the court. Dreading no one, Madame de Montpensier, supported by the undeviating favour shown towards her by Catherine de Medici, maintained opinions defined and precise, from which no one in her presence ventured to dissent. The duchesse de Montpensier died in 1561. The duke her husband married subsequently Catherine de Lorraine, only daughter of Francis, the great duke de Guise, and of Anne d'Esté. By his first wife, the duke de Montpensier had one son and five daughters. His eldest daughter, Françoise de Bourbon, married Robert de la Marck, duke de Bouillon. Following her mother's example, the duchesse de Bouillon renounced the Romish Faith, in the year 1567, to the excessive displeasure of her father. Her sister, Charlotte de Bourbon, abbess of Jouarre, however, first manifested dissent from the Catholic ritual. This princess had been placed at a very youthful age, by her mother, under the care of her cousin german, Jeanne Chabot,¹ then abbess of Paraclit, in Champagne, and prioress of Jouarre.

¹ Daughter of the admiral de Brion, and of Françoise de Longwy, sister of madame de Montpensier.

The duchesse Jacqueline possessed a very steadfast will; and, although she secretly favoured reform, the sight of five daughters to be portioned and married suitably to their royal rank, was sufficient to obviate her scruples as to her husband's design of providing for three of them out of the revenues of the church. Charlotte, therefore, was placed with the abbess of Paraclit; Jeanne at the convent of Ste. Croix of Poitiers; and Louise at that of Faremoustier. It has been supposed that Charlotte de Bourbon, was first led to doubt the efficacy of the religion she professed, from the early conversation of her mother, whose intellect she inherited; others assert that the principles of reform were first instilled into her mind by the abbess of Paraclit. She evinced much repugnance at her profession—a circumstance which was afterwards attested by several nuns of Jouarre; and she declared that she consented only to take the veil, being intimidated by the letters written by her mother. In the space of a few years, Charlotte and her sisters became abbesses of their respective convents. But the spirit of inquiry had been roused; and the youthful abbess loathed her religion, and became weary of her seclusion. Having no one to control her proceedings, she entered into correspondence with the queen of Navarre. Jeanne earnestly sought to reconcile her to her destiny, but in vain; and during the summer of the year 1570, while the queen was at La Rochelle, the intelligence reached her that the abbess de Jouarre had quitted

her veil, and her convent, and, renouncing her country and kindred, had fled from France in disguise, and sought refuge with her sister, the duchesse de Bouillon, at Sedan, from whence she proceeded to the court of Frederic III. count palatine.¹

The rage of the duke de Montpensier was unbounded; incited by the representatives of his second consort, and her family, he overwhelmed his daughter, with reproaches; and adjured her to return to her convent, not as before, its honoured abbess, but as a humble penitent; that, casting aside her royal rank, the very depth of her humiliation might earn the pardon of Heaven. The queen of Navarre, soon after her arrival at Blois, received a letter from the fugitive princess, entreating her mediation, and her good offices, with her father. The representations of Jeanne d'Albret had little weight with the duke de Montpensier: his bigoted zeal led him to reject with scorn the intercession of a "heretic—a princess accursed, and excommunicated by the church; with whom, peace was sacrilegious and profane." In reply to this letter from mademoiselle de Bourbon, the queen wrote from Blois, on the 9th day of April: "Ma cousine,—as they are sending a courier into Germany, I avail myself of the opportunity of writing to the count palatine, and to monsieur the duke Casimir his son, to inform them of the happy news of the marriage of Madame with my son; and

¹ Hilarian de Coste, *Eloges des Enfants de France*. MS. Harleian, No. 1582, fol. 367.

to thank both these princes for the reception which they have given you ; and to supplicate them to continue to you their kindness and protection. I believe, that this marriage of my son will serve you ; for, probably, I shall henceforth possess much greater credit at court, of which, ma cousine, you may avail yourself, as proceeding from one of the most attached of your relatives. I perceive how Monsieur de Montpensier views your circumstances ; it is true, that he continues very irritated ; but, I shall not weary of the task of soliciting for you.”¹

The duke, however, proved inexorable to every entreaty made in favour of his daughter ; and he addressed several letters to the Count Palatine, demanding that she might be restored to him. He, also, instituted an enquiry at Jouarre, respecting the profession of the princess, and her alleged aversion to take the veil. Finding that her statements were confirmed by the evidence of several of the nuns, he offered to petition the Holy See to cancel her profession, provided that she would remain constant to the Romish religion, and return to his protection ; when, after the lapse of some interval, he promised to bestow her in marriage on a personage of suitable condition. Charlotte, however, had made a formal renunciation of her ancient faith, and she, therefore, declined her father's overtures.

Probably, the interest which she took in the fate

¹ MS. Harleian, 1582, fol. 367.—Inedited. Lettre de la Royne Jeanne de Navarre, à mademoiselle de Bourbon.

of mademoiselle de Bourbon, proved beneficial, at this period, to the queen of Navarre, in withdrawing her thoughts from her own sorrows.

Before the princess Catherine became convalescent, the papal dispensation arrived, authorizing the marriage of Marguerite and Henry de Navarre. How this document was obtained, is still a mystery; and some authors do not hesitate to assert that, unable to vanquish the objections of the supreme pontiff, Gregory XIII., who had just assumed the tiara, Catherine de Medici, or her son, caused a false dispensation to be fabricated and published.¹ If so, Catherine proved herself as careless of her daughter's honour, as she had been regardless of her affections. On the other hand, it is stated, that the dispensation was granted by Gregory XIII., after the project consummated on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day had been confided to him by the cardinal de Lorraine. The inferences, however, seem to place the matter beyond dispute, that, either the pope listened to the details of the abominable conspiracy, and, sanctioning its perpetration, granted the licence which was to place this vengeance in the power of the adherents of the papacy; or, that Catherine caused the document to be forged, in furtherance of her schemes: otherwise, it cannot be credited, that pope Gregory, with-

¹ A letter written to the king by the cardinal de Lorraine, seems somewhat to sanction this supposition, as the cardinal there mentions that the dispensation was under debate on the 10th of September, 1572, when the marriage between Henry and Marguerite had been solemnized on the 18th of August.

out some powerful incentive, would, after his past positive refusals, issue his dispensation for the union of the sister of the most Christian king, with a heretic, the son of a princess anathematized, and under the ban of the church. The impossibility of such a concession on the part of the pontiff, is at once apparent, when it is remembered, that the marriage was to be solemnized with many grave innovations on the accustomed formularies; and, that no stipulation existed in the contract, guaranteeing to Marguerite the free exercise of her religion after the nuptials. Not all the menaces, vehement though they might be, which issued from the lips of king Charles, could have induced the pope to assent to a measure so injurious to the Romish Faith, and subversive of the claims put forth by the see of Rome to the allegiance of the princes of Europe.

Not until after the arrival of the papal dispensation, permitting the marriage, did queen Jeanne summon her son to the court. She then authorized his advance at the head of a certain number of Huguenot gentlemen only; the remaining members of that chivalrous band, to whom she had confided the destinies of her son before her own departure from Béarn, were to remain within the limits of the principality, ready to receive their prince and his bride; or to revenge any treacherous surprise on the part of the court.

No sooner was the dispensation received, than the most vexatious debates again harrassed the un-

fortunate Jeanne, relative to the public ceremonial to be observed on the marriage of her son. The king had decided that the nuptial ceremonial should be performed before the portal of Nôtre Dame de Paris, according to the ancient usages, on the marriage of a daughter of France. Again, queen Jeanne yielded the point in deference to the vehement expression of the royal will. She then summoned the ministers Espina, Mallot, Merlin de Vaulx, Barbasle, and Holbrac, and submitted to them the following queries, promising to abide by their decision. Jeanne asked in the first place, "whether her son's marriage would be deemed legal and holy, if it were not celebrated in the midst of the congregation of the faithful?" To this, the ministers replied, "that considering the urgent necessity of the case, if the consent of the sovereign of these realms can be obtained on no other terms, this ceremony may be dispensed with, and the marriage celebrated elsewhere without scandal." Secondly, the queen demanded: "whether the spousal ceremony might be performed by M. le cardinal de Bourbon, named by his majesty for that office?" To this it was replied, "that if it pleases the king to nominate the said cardinal to perform that office, the troth of the parties may be received by him, provided that at the ceremony he arrays himself only in the vestments which the said cardinal wears on ordinary occasions, such as when he attends the royal council, or the court of parliament. Moreover, that during the ceremony, he shall content

himself with delivering the ring only to the parties without uttering the accustomed nuptial benediction." The next question put by Jeanne was, "whether it would be unlawful for the marriage to be celebrated upon a platform reared at the portal of the great temple in Paris, where the daughters of France have been usually espoused?" The ministers decided "that it might be permitted, provided that the marriage was solemnized according to the above injunctions." Lastly, Jeanne requested to be informed, "whether M. le prince de Navarre, having thus espoused madame Marguerite, might attend the king and his train within the portal of the temple?" The junta of ministers replied, "that if the said prince received the express commands of the king, he might accompany his said majesty, provided that he quitted the cathedral before the commencement of the Romish service, and by the same door that he entered, the said prince taking his departure in as conspicuous a manner as possible in the sight of all, that it may at once be evidenced that he appeared there with no intention of assisting at mass, or at any other ceremony whatever."¹

The queen of Navarre presented the paper containing the decision of her ministers to king Charles and his mother, and professed her intention of adhering to their advice on the matter of the cere-

¹ MS. Bibl. Roy. Dupuy, p. 591. Avis sur les cérémonies du mariage de M. le prince de Navarre, et de Madame sœur du Roy, en la Convocation des ministres, 1572.—Inedited.

monial to be observed. Charles received the document with favour, assented to the prohibitions which it contained, and warmly requested queen Jeanne to ordain all necessary preparations on her own part, so that the union between her son, and Marguerite might be celebrated early during the ensuing month of June. That the king, however, did not willingly accept the interference of the Calvinistic ministers is evinced by the subsequent material alteration in the formula drawn by them, which Charles demanded and obtained from Henry de Navarre.

On the first day of May, the queen took leave of Charles and his mother, and attended by the ladies and cavaliers of her suite, she proceeded towards Paris. Her object in visiting the capital, was to ascertain, in the first place, the temper of its citizens towards the house of Bourbon, ere she trusted her beloved son to their hospitality; and to make extensive purchases for the adornment of her son's promised bride, and for the suitable equipment of the court of Navarre, in the regal solemnity then pending.

On her road to Paris queen Jeanne spent a few days at Vendôme—her last interval of rest from earthly care and suffering. A letter addressed to mademoiselle de Bourbon is the sole act of Jeanne d'Albret, which remains on record during her sojourn in this city, at once the appanage and the burial-place of her son's royal ancestors. Probably it is the last letter written by the queen, and shows

that amid her engrossing cares, Jeanne's sympathy was never invoked in vain.

QUEEN JEANNE TO CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON,
ABBESSE DE JOUARRE.

MA COUSINE,

You must by this time have received my letter, and M. le comte the acknowledgement and thanks which I tendered to him for the reception which he has given you. As regards your case, ma cousine, I showed to the queen-mother the letters which M. le comte Casimir wrote to me on the subject, and added, on my own part, every argument and persuasion that I thought likely to serve you; but I grieve to say that I received not such an answer from her majesty as I could have desired. There are here many persons who express sorrow for your position, but few who exert their influence in your cause, on account of the anger and displeasure evinced by M. de Montpensier against all of that court.¹ Nevertheless, I will permit nothing to close my lips; but I will heartily employ every means to serve you that I can descry, or you may indicate to me. My two children have been extremely ill; but God, ma cousine, who gave them both to me, will preserve them for His glory and service. I pray you, ma cousine, make what use you please of my influence and worldly possessions, while I will entreat God that He may give you His holy favour and assistance in your great need. From Vendôme, this 5th day of May, 1572.

Your very good cousin and perfect friend,

JEHANNE.²

¹ The court of the Elector Palatine.

² MS. Harleian, No. 1582, fol. 367.—Inedited.

For two years Charlotte de Bourbon remained the guest of the elector Palatine, at Heidelberg; she then proceeded to Holland, where, on the 12th of June, 1574, she became the third consort of Guillaume de Nassau, prince of Orange, whose heroic resistance to the tyranny of Philip II, and his minister, the duke of Alba, has rendered his name for ever illustrious.¹ The duke de Montpensier for long refused to hold communication with the prince and princess of Orange; though it is believed that before his death in 1582, he became reconciled to his daughter. Charlotte de Bourbon, by her marriage with the prince of Orange, had six daughters, the fifth of whom, Charlotte Flandrine de Nassau, made compensation to the church for her mother's defection, by assuming the veil at Ste. Croix de Poitiers, of which convent she eventually became abbess on the decease of her aunt, Jeanne de Bourbon Montpensier.

Jeanne arrived in Paris during the early part of the last week in May; the impatience manifested by the court, and the frequent missives which she received from Charles, announcing his own speedy departure from Blois for the capital, admitted of no procrastination. Jeanne took up her abode in the Hôtel de Condé, Rue de Grenelle Saint Honoré.²

¹ William I., prince of Orange, was assassinated at Delft, May 1584, by Balthazar de Gerard.

² Favyn, *Hist. de Navarre*, liv. 14. Some authors assert that Jeanne took up her residence in the hotel of Jean Guillart, bishop

Her health, which for several years had been delicate, now seemed thoroughly broken; the fever of intense excitement in which she existed throughout her negotiations at Blois having subsided, her strength appeared to expire, with the necessity for exertion. A melancholy which she could not check, clouded the once beaming energy of Jeanne's mind; but the die was cast; and the queen committed the fortunes of her beloved children into the hand of Providence.

The splendour of the preparations making in Paris for the reception of the prince of Navarre, roused the queen from the apathy which overpowered her: a gleam of the same energy which had often paralyzed the subtle designs of her enemies, again lighted the mind of Jeanne d'Albret. Once more, eloquent words flowed from her pen; and her gracious deportment conciliated the good-will of the Parisian populace. Attended by the marshal de Montmorency, governor of Paris, Jeanne visited the *ateliers* of the artists, and the warehouses of the most noted merchants of the capital. Gold, jewels, and rich habiliments were commanded by her with a lavish hand; and everything that could contribute to the pomp of the approaching solemnity, was liberally chosen under Jeanne's immediate superintendence. Amongst other shops which the queen visited, was that of Maître René, perfumer to queen Catherine. Here, it is averred, that Jeanne purchased of Chartres, one of the prelates excommunicated in 1563 by Pius IV.

chased drugs, perfumes, embroidered ruffs and gloves. The most sinister suspicions became subsequently rife relative to this visit paid by the queen to maître René. Catherine made no secret of the intense aversion which she felt for the queen of Navarre; and her subjects generally acknowledged the steadfast pertinacity with which she cherished a resentment, and avenged a supposed injury. But sorrow and persecution were to overwhelm the noble-hearted, and generous Jeanne d'Albret no more. Her spirit, worn by ceaseless contest, was soon to be at rest.

The queen's last recorded act was to summon Coligny to Paris, that she might confer with that imprudent counsellor, but faithful friend.

On Wednesday evening, the 4th of June, 1572, the queen of Navarre, on her return from one of her toilsome progresses in the capital to the Hôtel de Condé, complained of intense pain in her limbs, and of excessive lassitude.¹ The ensuing night was passed in fevered restlessness, the queen complaining of excruciating pain in the chest, from which nothing gave her relief. On the second day after her seizure, Jeanne's breathing became greatly impaired; and other symptoms demonstrated themselves, which occasioned disquietude to her physicians in ordinary, Caillard and Desnoeux. Other physicians appertaining to the household of the king, were then summoned; but their skill could suggest no remedy to relieve the sufferings of the queen. The greatest consternation

¹ Favyn, Hist. de Navarre, liv. 14.

prevailed amongst the Huguenots in Paris, when the sad news of Jeanne's condition transpired: her abode was thronged with anxious visitors. The queen alone preserved her presence of mind; not even the agony she endured—to behold which drew tears from the eyes of her attendants—extorted a murmur, or a plaint from the lips of Jeanne d'Albret. Her patience and resignation at this solemn moment, served as a sublime example to those around, and afforded evidence of the self-denial of her past life.

From the second day of her illness, the queen distinctly intimated her conviction of the hopelessness of her recovery. She desired that her chaplains might visit her, for the better settlement of her conscience. “I know,” exclaimed the dying queen, “that the prayers of the righteous avail much. I submit myself to the holy will of God, taking all evils from Him, as inflicted by a loving father. I have never feared death; still less dare I murmur at the dispensations of Providence, though He afflicts me with these most grievous pains. Nevertheless, I grieve deeply to leave the children whom God has given me, in their tender age, exposed to so many dangers, and such adversity: but, in God's Providence I confide!”¹ Then addressing madame de Thignonville, and her attendants, who were weeping bitterly, Jeanne exclaimed: “Ought you to weep for me? You have all witnessed the miserable wretchedness of my past life? Ought you to weep, when, at

¹ Mém. de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX., t. 1.

length, God takes pity upon me, and calls me to the enjoyment of a blessed existence, for the which I have unceasingly prayed?" It was remarked, that from the first day of her illness, the queen of Navarre never mentioned her son's approaching nuptials; and that, when the event was alluded to, she showed marked aversion to hear, or to discuss, its slightest details. During the night of Saturday, the 7th of June, the queen caused madame de Thignonville to be summoned, and held a conference with her, relative to madame Catherine. She besought her not to abandon the princess, but to depart with her into Béarn, far from the corruption of the court. "Tell her," said the queen, "that her dying mother implored her to repose a firm and constant trust in God; to be obedient to her brother, and to her preceptress, who, both of them, will guide her steps through the danger which besets her: let her receive their counsels, as if I myself spoke them. Finally, tell my beloved child, that I solemnly confide her to the care of Almighty God, who will protect and bless her, if she offers Him faithful service." Early on Sunday morning, Jeanne had a last conference with the admiral de Coligny, the substance of which never transpired; the admiral quitted the queen's presence, it was observed, with every demonstration of anguish, and retired to his residence in Paris.

The violent pains endured by the queen seemed gradually to subside during the day; but her strength was evidently ebbing away. Later in

the same day, she made her will, appointing the cardinal de Bourbon, and the admiral de Coligny, her executors. Throughout the evening, the ministers, Merlin and Espina, prayed by her bedside; they read the 14th, 15th, and 16th chapters of the Gospel of St. John, at Jeanne's especial request; these portions of Scripture, she declared, having been alone a sufficient support and consolation to her throughout the troubles of her past career. "O my Saviour, hasten to deliver my spirit from the misery of life, and from its prison in this suffering body, so that I may offend thee no more, and enter joyfully into the glorious rest which thou hast promised, and that my soul longs for!"¹ was Jeanne's petition during the intervals when her chaplains ceased to pray audibly. Throughout the early part of the morning of June 9th, the queen spoke little; she lay with her eyes closed, exhausted, but apparently suffering no pain. After this interval, another sudden paroxysm of suffering ensued; she was raised in the arms of her attendants; her difficulty of breathing was excessive, while the queen's hands and feet became cold and pulseless. By the direction of Caillard, her chief physician, her chest was rubbed, and everything done to restore vital heat. The queen's respiration, at length, became easier; but the power of articulation had departed; and it was evident that her dissolution was at hand. Her mind, however, preserved its powers to the last;

¹ Mém. de l'Etat de France, t. i.

and presently she made a gesture to her chaplains to continue their intercessions on her behalf to God. A faint smile was observed to pass over her countenance, when one of them commenced the psalm, "*In te, Domine, speravi.*" Throughout the remaining period of her existence, she gradually continued to sink; and between the hours of eight and nine, on the morning of Monday, June 9th, 1572, the pure and heroic spirit of the queen of Navarre passed from earth.¹

The friends who ministered to queen Jeanne in her last moments, were madame de Thignonville, the admiral de Coligny, her chancellor, Francourt, and her chaplains, Mallot, Merlin, and Espina; the count Louis de Nassau, and other of the most notable personages of the Huguenot party, remained in the lower apartments of the Hôtel de Condé during her agony. One author cursorily asserts that Jeanne d'Albret was visited, shortly before her decease, by king Charles and queen Catherine, who had arrived in Paris; but no satisfactory record remains of such an interview.

A gloom most ominous in its import shadowed the great Huguenot party assembled in Paris on the day of the demise of Jeanne d'Albret: a few hours elapsed, and the cry arose prolonged and menacing,—“The queen of Navarre has been poisoned!” It

¹ Mém. de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX., t. i. De Thou. Favyn, liv. 14. Olhagaray, Hist. de Foix, Béarn et Navarre, 627.

rang through the streets of the capital; it carried dismay into the dwellings of the Huguenot chieftains, and its echo was heard in the halls of the Louvre. The visit which queen Jeanne had paid, on the day of her sudden seizure, to the Italian perfumer, René, was dwelt upon with sombre suspicion: the hate of Catherine de Medici, inspired feelings of fearful awe. Had the queen adopted a horrible method of removing a rival from her path, whom she could neither beguile nor subdue? And did she, therefore, hope now to rule the mind of her future son-in-law with paramount power? "It was suspected," says la Planche, "that the queen-mother had recourse to maître René, her reputed poisoner, who, in selling his perfumes and scented ruffs to the queen of Navarre, contrived to administer poison to her, from the effects of which she died shortly afterwards." Another historian recounts that the poison was communicated by a pair of gloves.¹ Nevertheless, plausible as the suspicion appeared that the queen of Navarre had been assassinated by the command of Catherine de Medici, all circumstances conduce to the firm persuasion that this charge was unfounded. The life of toil, and the mental torment which Jeanne had endured without respite, was of

¹ Hist. des Cinq Roys. Olhagaray asserts that the queen of Navarre was poisoned at a banquet, by order of the duke d'Anjou. Villegomblain, in his Memoirs, on the contrary, declares in the most positive manner, that Jeanne died a natural death. "*Elle mourut,*" says he, "*de mort naturelle, combien qu'on-ait voulu parler autrement.*"

itself sufficient, prematurely to sever the thread of life, when the moment of reaction came, and the pressure of care was somewhat relaxed. The previous declining state of her health, which for several years had failed her, would account for her sudden attack of illness. In one of her letters to her son, written from Blois, the queen complains of her health, which she fears will succumb beneath her mental anxiety. Moreover, the *post-mortem* examination clearly establishes the causes of the death of the queen of Navarre, without having recourse to the charge of poison to account for her demise.

When the rumour reached the king's ears, that the queen of Navarre had met her death by foul practices, his fury is represented as indescribable. Not the slightest consideration for the feelings, or for the reputation, of his mother and the duke d'Anjou ever arrested Charles's actions. He, therefore, impetuously commanded that the body should be forthwith opened, and rigorous examination made of the causes of death by his own surgeon-in-chief, and Jeanne's physicians, Caillard and Desnoeux, in the presence of certain Huguenot officers of the deceased queen's household. Probably Charles attached some degree of credit to the charge of poison; a suspicion consistent with the opinion he so often expressed of his mother's flagitious proceedings.

The autopsy took place during the night of Monday, June 9th, the day the queen of Navarre expired. All the various parts of the queen's body

were found to be perfect and free from disease, excepting the lungs. A large abscess was there discovered, which had broken, the secretion being partially absorbed by the lungs, which were, besides, extensively diseased. "The queen's body was opened and examined with all science and diligence, by several learned physicians and surgeons, who pronounced her organs to have been perfect and healthful, excepting the lungs, upon which, on the right side, was found an abscess of some dimensions, besides an extraordinary hardening of the entire organ, the which, they all agreed, had caused her decease. Commands, however, had been given them not to open the head, where the chief evil lay, as it was believed; therefore, the said physicians could give no opinion on that matter."¹ The *evil*, one would imagine, had been made apparent enough, without seeking to prove by further evidence, that congestion of the brain was the cause of death, in support of the assertion that the poison had been communicated by the perfumed gands of Messire René, in the odour of which the queen had greatly delighted. The accusations of those historians, however, who, in their abhorrence of Catherine's character and policy, think it no injustice to ascribe to her agency every crime and mysterious deed which admits not of precise explanation, is, in this instance, contradicted by the testimony of Jeanne's

¹ Hist. des Cinq Roys. La Planche, Mém. de l'Etat sous Charles IX., t. i. p. 160, expresses the same opinions.

own medical attendants. Caillard and Desnoeux state that the queen's head was examined in their presence, and that no trace of poison was anywhere to be detected in her body, a statement confirmed both by documentary evidence, and by the inferences to be deduced from the queen's previous state of health, the which, it must be allowed, ought to have weight in the consideration of the question. Caillard distinctly stated to the persons present at the autopsy, that the queen died from the bursting of an abscess on the lungs. "Messieurs," continued he, addressing his colleagues in the investigation, "you are well aware of the command that I received from the late queen, our good mistress, that if it should be my fate to attend upon her last moments, I was not to fail to examine her brain, to discover from what cause proceeded the itching sensation which she often experienced on the crown of her head, so that if M. le Prince her son, or madame la Princesse her daughter, are afflicted with the same, we should know what remedy to apply." Desnoeux, in obedience to the command given to him, opened the head of the queen, when it was discovered that the uncomfortable irritation, which Jeanne had complained of, proceeded from certain little vesicles full of water, lying between the brain and the membrane investing it. Before the personages present quitted the chamber, the surgeon Desnoeux, it is recorded, also thus addressed them: "Messieurs, if her majesty had died, as it has been wrongly alleged, from having smelled some

poisoned object, the marks would be perceptible on the coating of the brain ; but, on the contrary, the brain is as healthful and free from injury as possible. If her majesty had died from swallowing poison, traces of such would have been visible in the stomach. We can discover nothing of the kind. There is no other cause, therefore, for her majesty's decease, but the rupture of an abscess on the lungs."¹ It may, moreover, be observed, that the symptoms attending Jeanne's malady were not of a nature to be produced by poison ; also, that the queen herself, during her illness, which lasted five days, suspected nothing of the kind, or she would surely have imparted her suspicions to Coligny, during their frequent confidential interviews, that he might warn and protect her son against a similar fate. The admiral, on the contrary, insisted on the expediency of Henry's journey to Paris, to perform the contract negotiated for him by his lamented mother.

The mortal remains of Jeanne d'Albret lay in state during the five days subsequent to her decease. No splendid ecclesiastical insignia, or priests with relics and censors, surrounded her bier.² The queen

¹ Cayet, *Chronologie Novenaire*, liv. 1, p. 313. edit. 8vo. Cayet was a minister of the Evangelical church, and preceptor to Catherine de Bourbon, the only daughter of Jeanne d'Albret. He was subsequently converted, Nov. 9, 1595, to the church of Rome, by the representations of the bishop of Evreux. Cayet died in Paris, March 10, 1610, a priest and professor of history of the college of Navarre.

² Favyn, liv. 14.

reposed on the couch upon which she had surrendered her breath; the corpse was arrayed in a robe of white satin, embroidered with silver, over which was thrown a regal mantle of violet velvet. Her crown and sceptre lay beside the bed. The apartment was hung with black draperies; and the ladies and gentlemen of her household were ranged around, at stated intervals, clad in mourning vestments.

The court vouchsafed the empty homage of a visit to the remains of a princess it had hated and persecuted. Marguerite de Valois, the promised bride of Henry, attended by the cardinal de Bourbon, by the duchesses de Nevers, and de Guise, and their sister, Marie de Cleves, the betrothed of Condé, performed, also, this last duty. The solemnity of the scene, and the thought of the virtues of her who lay before them, stricken by death, had not power to awe the levity of the princesses. Marguerite thus relates the circumstances of their visit, in her *Memoirs*: she says, "I went, accompanied by the cardinal de Bourbon, by mesdames de Guise, de Nevers, and their sister, madame la princesse de Condé, to the abode of the queen of Navarre, to acquit myself of the duty owing to her dignity, and the proximity of kindred between us; not, however, with the pomp and the ceremonies which our religion sanctions, but with the little *appareil* tolerated by *Huguenoterie*. The queen was lying on her ordinary bed, the curtains of which were drawn back, without lights,

without priests, without crosses, without holy water. As we stood together, about the distance of six steps from the bed, madame de Nevers, whom the queen, in her life-time, had disliked above every other person in the world (the former paying back the dislike both in word and deed, as you are aware how well she knew how to spite those she hated), stepped from amongst us, and, with several fine, humble, and low curtseys, approached the bed, and taking the queen's hand in her own, she kissed it; then, with another profound obeisance, full of respect, she returned to our side."¹ If Marguerite had not sufficiently intimated, by her comments, that this act of madame de Nevers was performed in a spirit of mocking ridicule, it might be supposed that the heart of the duchess smote her, for her past unkindness, and that her homage to the dead was an involuntary tribute of repentance.

Queen Jeanne's funeral obsequies were instantly celebrated: the body, arrayed in regal robes, after lying in state for five days, in the Hôtel de Condé, was placed in a leaden coffin. A rumour became generally prevalent that, by command of the court, the coffin was filled with quick-lime; the truth of the report has never been ascertained; but it does not appear to have met with authoritative denial. Although queen Jeanne left special instructions in her will, for her interment in the sepulchre of her ancestors, in the cathedral of Lescar, near to Pau,

¹ Mém. de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre, liv. 1.

her wishes were disregarded; and, by the order of king Charles, her remains were conveyed to Vendôme, and deposited near those of her husband, with scarcely the semblance of royal pomp; the religious ceremonies observed being in strict conformity with the Reformed ritual.

The news of his mother's death reached Henry at Chaunay, in Poitou, at which place he had arrived on his road to the court of France. Intense resentment against those who had embittered the queen's last hours, succeeded Henry's first paroxysm of grief. He wrote to the court, stating his intention, after witnessing the due celebration, at Vendôme, of his mother's obsequies, to return into Béarn, without visiting Paris. His next act was to notify the sad event to d'Arros, the faithful friend and adherent of his house under all its reverses. He specially enjoined that the laws promulgated by his "very dear and honoured mother" should remain in force throughout his dominions. Excitement and distress of mind brought on a severe attack of fever, which prevented Henry from immediately repairing to Vendôme. The funeral cortége of Jeanne d'Albret had then traversed the streets of Vendôme; and by the time the son, "whose welfare had been dearer to her than life," reached that city, she rested in the tomb. A great concourse of Huguenot noblemen, including Coligny, La Rochefoucauld, Condé, and Montgomery attended her obsequies. The grief and consternation of her people of Béarn and Foix was profound

and permanent, and afforded more illustrious testimony to queen Jeanne's goodness and virtues, than the most elaborate panegyric that could have been pronounced in her praise.

Jeanne d'Albret expired in Paris, June 9th, 1572, at the age of forty-four. She is interred in the mausoleum of the princes of Bourbon, in the chapel dedicated to St. George, in the cathedral of Vendôme, in the same vault with her husband, Antoine, king of Navarre. The following is the inscription on their tomb:—

“Icy dessus gist ensepulteré Antoine de Bourbon, Roy de Navarre, Souverain de Béarn, Duc de Vendômois, Lieutenant pour le Roy Charles IX^{ème} de ce nom. Lequel Seigneur fut fils du très haut, très puissant, et très magnanime prince, Monseigneur Charles de Bourbon I^{er}, Duc de Vendôme, et de Madame Françoise d'Alençon, son épouse, et deceda a Andely le VII^{ème} jour d'Octobre, 1562.

En ce même sepulchre gist très haute, très sage, et très vertueuse Dame Madame Jehanne d'Albret, Royne de Navarre, Souveraine de Béarn, et Duchesse de Vendômois, fille unique et seule heritière de Henry d'Albret Roy de Navarre et de Madame Marguerite de France, laquelle deceda à Paris le IX^{ème} jour de Juin, 1572.”¹

“This princess,” says Le Laboureur,² was the

¹ Sainte Marthe, Hist. Généalogique de la Maison Royale de France.

² Notice sur Jeanne d'Albret—Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau.

wisest of her age, the most generous, the most learned, the most devoted to the welfare of her subjects ; she governed with the greatest clemency and prudence ; and her heart overflowed with every virtue, and every quality, which ennobles and elevates mankind." Davila is scarcely less enthusiastic in his summary of the character of this great princess. "She was," says he,¹ "a princess of invincible courage, of rare intellect, of elevated valour, above the condition of her sex ; so that, in very truth, these eminent qualities, accompanied as they were by singular modesty of deportment, by unexampled generosity of character, would have earned for her eternal renown, had it not happened, that desirous of penetrating into the profound mysteries of theology, and even of explaining them, she imbued her mind with the tenets of Calvinism, to which errors she pertinaciously adhered."

Many odes and epigrams were composed on the decease of Jeanne d'Albret, by her adherents of the Reformed Faith. The court, however, did not willingly receive such tribute to the memory of a heretic princess ; one, also, who died unabsolved from the censures of the church. Amongst the most ingenious of the epigrams composed in honour of Jeanne d'Albret, was this :

" S'ébahit-on pourquoy la Royne de Navarre
En sagesse, en bonté, en piété, si rare,

¹ Davila, t. i. p. 266.

N'a languy que cinq jours à s'envoller au ciel ?
C'est le peu qu'elle avoit en elle de mortel."

Another friend of the queen of Navarre, composed the following Latin epitaph to her memory :

DE EADEM.

Dum mens continuò coelestia spirat, anhelum
Deficiens corpus, cessit, humique jacet.

No funeral oration from the lips of the orators of the capital, lay or ecclesiastical, offered homage to the virtues of the queen of Navarre. Catherine de Medici suppressed, as far as etiquette permitted, all outward mourning and sympathy for the fate of a princess whom she regretted not, and whose decease opened to her aspiring genius, a vast scope for future intrigue. It was in the hearts of her people of Béarn, that the memory of Jeanne d'Albret was enshrined : while, Europe, with unanimous acclamation, acknowledged that a great and politic spirit had passed away ; and that the name of the queen of Navarre would remain for ever on record, as that of one of the noblest of heroines, who had suffered and triumphed in defence of the principles of the Reformation.

The queen of Navarre bequeathed all her dominions, lordships, and fiefs, to her son absolutely, "in testimony of the love and dutiful reverence, the prince had always demonstrated towards her." She commands him never to forsake the profession of the Reformed religion, and to banish from his court, "those men, apostates from their God, who live immersed in

voluptuous indolence and corruption ;” atheists, and flatterers. She entreats the prince to love and cherish his sister Catherine, to protect her from ill, and, finally, to bestow her in marriage on a prince professing the same religion as herself. She directs, that madame de Thignonville may be retained as the preceptress of the princess ; and, that Mesdames de Vaulx, de Fontrailles, and mademoiselle de Perray, may be nominated as ladies of the household of the princess, “being all ladies of rank, of the Reformed Faith, whose morals and conduct accord with their religious profession.” The queen especially recommends to the affection of her son, the prince of Condé, and his brother, the marquis de Conty ; the admiral de Coligny, de Beauvoir, his preceptor ; the chancellor Francourt, and M. de Béthune, her faithful friend and counsellor. She desired that the princess Catherine might be educated in Béarn ; she commends also, this beloved daughter to the protection of the king, and the queen-mother ; and she entreats madame Marguerite to love her as a sister. The queen reiterates her confirmation of the contract recently concluded at Blois, “*en tant que besoin serait.*” Queen Jeanne bequeaths all her jewels to her daughter, madame Catherine, absolutely, including her grand *parure* of emeralds. She excepts only the jewels in the hands of Elizabeth queen of England, consisting of a rich carcanet of diamonds, and a large balass ruby set in a ring, which she gives to her son, as heir-looms of the crown of Navarre.

In addition to this bequest, Jeanne leaves to her daughter, the jewels pledged in Paris by the prince of Orange; and which she had redeemed, for the sum of thirteen thousand francs. If the prince of Orange chose to retain his jewels, he was then to pay the said sum of thirteen thousand francs to madame Catherine, to be disposed of at her pleasure.¹ The queen, moreover, directs her son to give his sister the accustomed dowry of the princesses of the house of Navarre, on her marriage. Finally, the queen nominated the cardinal de Bourbon, and the admiral de Coligny, executors of her last will and testament.²

The motto generally used by Jeanne d'Albret, was that of the royal House of Navarre, "*Gratiâ Dei sumus id quod sumus*," which expressed so well the dependence she daily demonstrated, on the favour and protection of God. During the subsequent wars in which she was involved, the queen took for her device, a flame of fire, with the motto, "*Aut faciet, aut inveniet viam*," to proclaim her sense of the difficulties which beset her path, and her resolution to overcome them.

The charitable institutions founded by queen

¹ As the queen bequeathed none of her jewels to her son's betrothed bride, Marguerite de Valois, a sum of thirty thousand crowns was given by the young king of Navarre for the suitable equipment of his future consort.

² Mém. de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX., t. i. p. 160. MS. Bibl. Roy. The queen's will was made by two notaries, Gaudicher and Goguyer, and dated, "Fait à Paris le Dimanche, huitième jour de Juin, 1572."

Jeanne, are too numerous to be recorded in detail. Throughout her dominions of Béarn, Foix, and Lower Navarre, there was scarcely a town which participated not in her bounty. Her principal foundation was, the once famous college at Orthez. The college subsisted until the year 1621, when queen Jeanne's grandson, Louis XIII., caused it to be demolished; and, by the advice of the cardinal de Richelieu, the king applied its noble revenues, bestowed by Jeanne, for the foundation and maintenance of a college of Jesuits at Pau—an order, which the queen had rigorously suppressed throughout her dominions. Over the portal of the college at Orthez, Jeanne placed the inscription: “*Sic Joanna Orthesii novas Athenas principes instituit, decusque avorum auget.*”

The portrait of Jeanne d'Albret, appended to these volumes, represents the queen at the age of thirty-six years. Her noble and serene features are here more perfectly delineated than in any other picture now existing. The original portrait is comprised in the Collection Fonloy, Bibliothèque Impériale. It is drawn in crayons, and is considered, from its perfect execution, a gem of art as existing in the sixteenth century. Very few other portraits of Jeanne, queen of Navarre are extant; the troublous times in which the queen lived, and the little popularity that she possessed at court, are, perhaps, the reasons to be assigned for the scarcity of her pictures. Only on one occasion in her life is it on record that Jeanne presented her

portrait, as a mark of royal favour and regard ; and this exception she made in favour of the municipal council of Geneva, at the prayer of Calvin, and other ministers of the Reformed Churches.

Party malevolence, however, found scope in the dissemination of multitudes of caricatures, all satirizing the queen's theological pursuits, and her resolute support of her faith. In the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Impériale, there is a curious caricature of Jeanne, representing her armed cap-à-pied, wearing a hood formed of the shell of a tortoise, and wielding a lance in the shape of a spindle. In her hand the queen holds an open Bible ; she has spurs on her heels ; and she is drawn in the act of crushing under her foot a tuft of tall bulrushes. The legend at the base of this hideous caricature is "*Donec ponam inimicos tuos.*"

The death of the queen of Navarre roused the deadliest suspicion in the minds of the Huguenots in Paris, which even the examination into the cause of her death could not allay. The people persisted in believing that Catherine, by the aid of magic, a study to which she was notoriously addicted, had succeeded in destroying every vestige of her crime. The majority of the chieftains of the party alone seemed to view the event with apathy, they being probably convinced that no foul practice had been adopted to destroy the life of their late munificent patroness. In vain Coligny was exhorted to retire in time from the capital ; he refused to listen

to any such solicitations ; preferring “to rely on the good faith of the king.” His newly married wife, then near her *accouchement*, united her entreaties to those of the more wary of the admiral’s adherents ; Francourt predicted, moreover, the impending calamity. Coligny’s invariable reply was, “I cannot quit the capital without plunging the country into renewed war ; I choose rather to be dragged in the very gutters of Paris, than to resort to such an extremity.” Charles continued to lavish on the admiral marks of the warmest favour ; while Catherine’s mourning garments, and the regret which she expressed for the decease of queen Jeanne, completely deceived him. He, therefore, requested Teligny, Francourt, Grammont, and Beauvoir, to allay popular excitement, by their confident representations ; while he wrote urgent letters to the king of Navarre, which he sent by two ministers, imploring him to proceed at once to Paris, to perfect the alliance negotiated for him.

Henry was at Vendôme, where illness still detained him ; on the receipt of Coligny’s despatch, he, in a fatal hour, decided upon proceeding to court, reposing on the prudence and sagacity of one who had been so trusted by his mother.

On Tuesday, the 8th day of July, therefore, a mournful cavalcade approached the gates of Paris. Henry de Navarre, at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant cavaliers of France, all clad in mourning habiliments, was received by the municipi-

pality of Paris. In the *fauxbourg*, awaiting Henry's approach, were the dukes d'Anjou and d'Alençon, attended by the duke de Guise, the four marshals of France, and four hundred of the courtiers. The streets were lined with guards; and from every window, numbers of personages witnessed the pageant, which welcomed queen Jeanne's valiant son to the capital. At the right hand of the king of Navarre rode the cardinal de Bourbon: immediately around his person were the prince dauphin of Auvergne, heir of the duke de Montpensier, the duke de Nevers, the prince de Condé, Coligny, La Rochefoucauld and Montgommery. Following, rode the flower of the Huguenot chivalry; the valiant Montamar, and his brother Fontrailles, de Piles, Beauvoir, Francourt, Taligny, Caumont de la Force, Grammont, Gourdon, Soubise, Renel, and Pardaillan-Ségur, besides other personages of less note. Never had there been assembled together a more chivalrous and devoted troop, led, nearly all, to destruction by a blind and mistaken confidence in the integrity of the court.

It was a political oversight of the most fatal description, which never would have occurred had the queen of Navarre lived, as her constant command exemplifies, to assemble this formidable band of Huguenot noblemen in Paris. Their numbers and their valour struck the court with consternation, and hastened the catastrophe, meditated, but not even then organized. Their presence enabled

Catherine to rouse the fierce passions of king Charles, by her subtle representations that Henry's eight hundred Huguenot gentlemen alone, to say nothing of their followers, were more than a match for the garrison of Paris; which, moreover, she significantly added, was commanded by a Montmorency, the devoted partisan of the house of Bourbon. The prowess of these brave commanders in Béarn and the adjacent districts, would have insured the lives and liberty of the Huguenots in Paris. All the cavaliers who entered Paris with the king of Navarre, wore long mourning mantles of black cloth. The cavalcade, when united to that of the dukes d'Anjou and d'Alençon, amounted to more than twelve hundred noble personages, who, with the king of Navarre, proceeded to the Louvre, to pay homage to the king, queen Catherine, and to madame Marguerite, the bride elect.¹

On the 18th day of August, 1572, the ill-omened marriage was solemnized, between Marguerite and Henry, at the portal of Notre Dame. Davila asserts,² that on the officiating prelate, the cardinal de Bourbon, demanding of the princess, whether she would accept the king of Navarre for her husband, Marguerite refused to reply; when, king Charles advanced, and forcibly compelled her to incline her head—which gesture was accepted instead of the prescribed words. This act is much in accord with the previous deport-

¹ Lettre d'un Particulier de Paris—Régistres de l'Hotel de Ville.

² Davila, t. I. liv. 24. p. 267.

ment of the princess, and her repeated protests against this union: the duke de Guise, moreover, was present, in attendance upon the king, when the marriage was celebrated.

On the 22nd of August, the tragedy commenced. The admiral de Coligny was wounded by a ball from an arquebuse, while passing through the streets of Paris, on his return from the Louvre. The assassin perpetrated the crime at the suggestion of Catherine de Medici, and of her son Henry, duke d'Anjou, who dreaded the influence which the admiral was gaining over the mind of the king. The duke, after his accession to the crown of Poland, avowed the share which he and his mother had taken in the crime. In this statement, the duke expressly declares, that the assassin, Maureval, received his commission from himself, in the presence of queen Catherine. Marguerite de Valois, also, confirms this statement in her Memoirs. On the news of the attempt on Coligny's life, the Huguenots assembled in tumultuous bands, around the house in the rue de Bethisy, where he lay. Their rash and warlike demonstrations,¹ their menaces, and their numbers, inspired the court with terror and distrust. Henry de Navarre, with one hundred followers, would have found himself in comparative safety, rather than as the king, sur-

¹ Piles entered the Louvre at the head of four hundred gentlemen, and demanded instant vengeance on the assassin of Coligny. The king of Navarre and Condé supported his petition, and declared their resolve to quit Paris unless it were complied with.

rounded by several thousands of his adherents. The doom of the Huguenots was sealed: Catherine had trembled before their threats—an indignity which she never pardoned.

The insinuations, and the menaces of Catherine having lashed the unfortunate young king into a frenzy of rage, against those who so boldly threatened him in the heart of his capital, the massacre of all the Huguenot chieftains was finally decided upon, on Saturday, August 23rd, in a council held in the garden of the Tuileries. There were present at the conference, king Charles, Catherine de Medici, the duke d'Anjou, the count de Retz, the marshal de Tavannes, and the chancellor Birague.¹

On the eve of Sunday, August 24th, 1572, St. Bartholomew's day, the fatal tocsin tolled from the towers of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The subsequent hours surpassed in horror all that the queen of Navarre had feared or foreboded. The streets streamed with the blood of the unfortunate Huguenots, surprised in their beds, and unprepared for the assault. The roll of musketry echoed throughout the capital, mingling with the shrieks of victims, the clash of swords, and the savage cheers of the infuriated soldiery. Such a saturnalia of blood never before desecrated the capital of a Christian realm at the command of its sovereign. The maniacal fury of the miserable Charles, throughout that night, appalled even queen Catherine and her abettors in

¹ Mém. de Tavannes, chap. xxvii. De Thou.

crime. His livid features quivered with excitement; while drops of perspiration welled from his forehead, as, armed with an arquebuse, he aimed from the windows of the Louvre at the fugitives fleeing for their lives to the banks of the Seine, while, with hoarse shouts, he encouraged their pursuers. Coligny, Montamar, la Rochefoucauld, Caumont, Francourt, Téligny, Piles, perished during this night of terror, with five hundred other gentlemen of less repute. The total number of the slaughtered, of every condition, exceeded ten thousand persons. Montgommery, by rare good fortune, effected his escape from Paris, and eventually from the kingdom. The duke de Guise and his brother, and the marshals de Tavannes and de Biron, led the massacre, and commanded the regular troops. "The tocsin," says de Tavannes in his *Memoirs*,¹ "continued to toll; everything clashed, everything became in tumult; all hurled defiance and combat; rage and blood predominated; and Death strode through the streets of the capital, in such horrid array, that their Majesties, the authors of the tumult, could not help quaking with fear in the Louvre. All Huguenots were slaughtered indiscriminately; the majority without attempting to defend themselves."

All historians agree that this horrible massacre was long resisted by king Charles, whose threats of vengeance, on the day of the admiral's attempted assassination, caused Catherine, her son d'Anjou, and the duke de Guise to tremble for their lives. In fact, Charles

¹ *Mém. de Tavannes*, chap. xxvii. De Thou.

issued orders for the arrest of the duke de Guise, who, to escape the anger of the king, was compelled to conceal himself for a day. The indiscreet threats of the Huguenot chieftains, and especially of Par-
daillan-Ségur, Piles, and others, whom La Noue taunts as “de vrai fous, et malhabiles,” repeated to the king by Catherine, with malicious comments, roused in the unfortunate king that frenzy of insane violence, which rendered him incompetent to act, except by the dictation of others. Had one of the great Huguenot chieftains, regardless of personal peril, proceeded direct to the Louvre on the day upon which Coligny was wounded, to support and possess himself of the king's confidence, while tendering assurances of the loyal fidelity of his party, in the frame of mind in which Charles then was, he might with equal facility have obtained a decree annihilating the authority of Catherine and her adherents. All, however, was dismay and confusion — Coligny, wounded, was not permitted to address the king privately, when Catherine and her son paid their visit of condolence; Montgomery was interdicted from approaching the palace, on account of the unfortunate accident which had made him the slayer of Charles's royal father; la Rochefoucauld and Condé, were young men, rash, heedless, and enjoying the festivities of the court; and the King of Navarre, Catherine's son-in-law, was one of the inmates of the Louvre, and, therefore, under the queen's constant *surveillance*. Moreover, two days only elapsed, after the attempt on Coligny's

life, before Catherine struck the final blow, which was to free her, as she hoped, from political opponents, and deliver the realm from faction and heresy.

The day following the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the king of Navarre, the prince de Condé, and madame Catherine de Bourbon, were compelled, by the king, to make recantation of their alleged heresy. They yielded to the exigencies of their position; for instant death would have been the penalty of opposing Charles in his frenzy. During the space of a month, the massacre at Paris was repeated, on a smaller scale, in several provincial towns. France, intimidated and appalled by the atrocities committed on her soil, protested, by the inaction of the majority of her population, against the horrors perpetrated by command of the king's lieutenants, throughout her various provinces. The names of the viscount d'Orthez, de Sigagnes, governors of Dieppe, Philibert, count de Guiche, Bertrand de Simiane, de Gordes, the counts de Tende, de Carces, de Vaucluse, de St. Herem, and Mandelot, and the bishop of Lisieux, are worthy of immortal renown, as all these most chivalrous nobles, declined at the peril of their lives, to execute the barbarous orders transmitted by the court, within their respective governments. The Montmorency refused to participate in the crime, or to share in the subsequent responsibility; while queen Jeanne's friend, Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon, declined to become the apologist of the massacre to queen Elizabeth.

The tidings of the slaughter on St. Bartholomew's Day, was received with transport at Rome. The cannon of St. Angelo saluted ; the city was illuminated ; and the supreme pontiff, Gregory XIII., proceeded., with his cardinals, to visit the churches of Rome in succession, to offer thanksgiving at the shrine of every saint. The cardinal de Lorraine, envoy extraordinary from the court of France, presented the gentleman who brought him the intelligence, with a thousand gold crowns ; and then proceeded to chaunt a solemn Te Deum in the church dedicated to St. Louis, in the presence of all the French residents in the papal capital.

The biography of queen Jeanne d'Albret cannot be more appropriately terminated than by the transcript of the letter which the cardinal de Lorraine addressed to Charles IX. on the occasion. Throughout her numerous manifestoes, the removal of the cardinal from his post in the government is invariably declared, by the queen, to have been the object of her hostile demonstration ; as to his evil influence, she averred all the miseries which assailed the realm might be traced. How sagaciously the Queen of Navarre had judged, may be inferred, from the perusal of the cardinal's epistle.

THE CARDINAL DE LORRAINE TO CHARLES IX.

SIRE,

The sieur de Beauville is arrived, bringing letters from your majesty confirming the news which we had received

here, relative to the very christian and heroic resolutions of your council, and the subsequent executions, not only in Paris, but in all the principal towns of your realm. I hold myself assured, sire, that you have been pleased to bestow so much honour upon me, that knowing my views and desires on the subject, you have concluded that, amongst all your loyal subjects, I am not the last to praise God, and rejoice: for truly, sire, that which you have achieved was so infinitely above my hopes, that I never should have dared to contemplate it. Nevertheless, I have always believed that the deeds of your majesty would daily augment the glory of God; and tend to immortalize your name; so that, with the growth of your renown, the Lord God will so sustain you, that ere long you will have become the recipient of His greatest and most signal favours. Sire, on my bended knees, I humbly kiss your majesty's hands, vowing that, after God, I will henceforth serve you with tenfold faith, obedience, and reverence, and never fail so long as life lasts.

Presuming upon the good-will and piety of your majesty, I again venture to commend to your justice the cause concerning the abbey of Clairvaux. God will reward your majesty; for you cannot undertake a more glorious work in honour of God and our faith than this. Your majesty will also be enabled to preserve that which otherwise would be lost. Your majesty, moreover, will now have opportunity to avail yourself of the abbey of Vezelet, nominally appertaining to monsieur mon neveu, Louis,¹ which I now feel assured your majesty will not require him to resign. Nevertheless, I pray your majesty to bestow this abbey upon the cardinal de Rambouillet: after you have signified your pleasure thereon, my nephew will voluntarily resign the benefice, and cause all the necessary despatches

¹ Cardinal de Guise.

to be forwarded from hence. I shall esteem this a personal grace: although I have no interest in the matter, excepting that of God and your majesty, which I have always preferred to my own.

I am writing to the queen on various affairs of your majesty; amongst others, *concerning the dispensation for your sister's marriage*.¹ I will not, therefore, weary your majesty with the repetition; but, as a conclusion to my letter, I again humbly kiss your hand, while praying that God will confer upon your majesty a happy and prosperous reign, with long life, as your majesty's most Christian and very glorious actions deserve. Written at Rome, this 10th day of September.

Your very humble and very obedient subject and servant,

C. CARDINAL DE LORRAINE.²

¹ The marriage between Marguerite and Henry had been solemnized on the 18th day of August, 1572.

² MS. Bibl. Roy. Dupuy, 209, 210, 211, fol. 89.

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